INDULGENCES AS A SOCIAL FACTOR IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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FOREWORD

SINCE the age of Luther and the Protestant Revolt, indulgences have been to non-Catholics one of the least understood and most criticized institutions of the Catholic Church. Some of the misconception is undoubtedly due to the fact that the writings of Catholic historians, lay or cleric, too generally ignore the point of view of the intelligent non-Catholic. Some of it, equally without doubt, is due to the failure of non-Catholic secular historians to avail themselves fully even of the means at hand to understand the ecclesiastical viewpoint.

In the present essay, which Fr. Ross has put into such straightforward English, Dr. Paulus has not concerned himself with the doctrine of indulgences, and for that reason, perhaps, his book will make a wider appeal to the non-Catholic mind. Frequently the indulgence was merely a permit to commute one form of penance into another, and Dr. Paulus has pointed out the social significance of this fact. Fasting or some other such penance was changed into a contribution of money or service to some useful public undertaking, and Dr. Paulus presents an impressive list of these works due to a commutation of penances, or indulgences.

The list includes the construction and maintenance of churches, schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions; bridges, dams, roads, har-

bors and fortifications, and the stimulation of such important social movements as Crusades and the Truce of God. This latter was the first really effective step taken to end the almost universal petty warfare, pillage, and banditry of the early Middle Ages, and of itself would give importance to this feature of indulgences.

In making this contribution to Church history easily accessible in English, Fr. Ross has rendered a service of genuine value.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE accompanying essay of Dr. Paulus treats indulgences from a rather unusual standpoint—their social effect on the life of the Middle Ages. Because his purpose is to show the publicly useful results of indulgences for temporal undertakings, the author almost entirely passes over the theological side. It may be well, therefore, to preface this translation with a short explanation of this feature of indulgences.

An indulgence is not a forgiveness of past sin, nor a permission to commit sin in the future.

On the contrary, an indulgence is merely a remission, by the application of Christ's merits, of the whole or a part of the temporal punishment due to forgiven sin.

Catholic theologians distinguish between the guilt of a sin and the temporal punishment due for the violation of God's order. The guilt of the sin may be forgiven while the temporal punishment remains. The soundness of this distinction is abundantly evident from Scripture. Thus David's sin with the wife of Urias was forgiven, but nevertheless he had to make satisfaction for it through the sorrow of losing the child (II Kings, XII, 13, 14). And the fact that the individual sinner can satisfy for the temporal punishment due his sins is taught in Jonas III; II Paral. (Chron.), XXXIII, 12; Eccles., III, 33; Daniel, IV, 24; Luke, XI, 41.

In the early ages of the Church, apparently, it was the object of the confessor in the Sacrament of Penance to impose a penance that would satisfy for the whole of the temporal punishment due to the sins confessed. Later it was permitted to commute these penances through an indulgence, the merits of Christ being applied to the satisfaction that otherwise would have been made by the penitent. Originally given in fractions of the imposed penance—as one-half, one-third, and so on—these commutations finally came to be specified in days corresponding to the amount of satisfaction that would be made by doing penance for that number of days according to the ancient discipline. Thus a forty days indulgence, or a quarantine, is the satisfaction for such an amount of temporal punishment as would be satisfied for by doing penance for forty days according to the ancient penances—for instance, fasting on bread and water for forty days.

Indulgences are partial or plenary according as they remit a whole or a part of the temporal punishment due to sin.

We can, perhaps, better grasp the theory back of indulgences if we consider an illustration from modern business. A man who has ten thousand dollars in a bank can take a piece of paper that is in itself worthless, write an order or a check on that bank for ten thousand dollars, and the worthless piece of paper becomes worth that much money. In somewhat the same way, we say that Christ deposited His infinite merits to the credit of the Church, He gave her authority to check

against them. Hence she can take a work that is practically worthless in itself—the giving of a small alms, the recitation of a few prayers—write some figures on it, as it were, sign it, and it becomes worth what she says it is worth. She has drawn a check against her heavenly bank account of the merits of Christ.

The Church claims the authority to do this because Christ told the Apostles, "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them" (John, XX, 23); and again, "Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matt., XVIII, 18).

That indulgences, as we have explained them, do not induce to sin by making satisfaction easy is clear from the fact that the recipient of an indulgence must be free from mortal sin. For plenary indulgences confession and Communion are usually required.

Keeping in mind this theological background of indulgences, we are in a position to profit by Dr. Paulus's study of their social effect in the Middle Ages.

INTRODUCTION

BECAUSE of the misunderstandings which even the indulgences for useful public purposes have often evoked, it will be helpful to preface this historical exposition with a short doctrinal explanation. According to the common Protestant representation an indulgence is nothing else than the forgiveness of sin. And if one has ever mistaken an indulgence for the pardon of sin and then hears that in the Middle Ages indulgences were connected with a monetary contribution to this or that good work, the conclusion is unavoidable that according to the teaching of Catholics men can be freed from their sins for a few cents, and may sin again as often as they are willing to pay the fee. This notion, however, is entirely erroneous.

In order to understand indulgences at all correctly, it is necessary to go back to the penitential discipline of the early Middle Ages. According to the penitential regulations of those days every single mortal sin was covered by its own special penance—often of three, five, seven, ten, or even more years. Apart from other penitential works, more or less strict fasting was most frequently imposed, not rarely on bread and water for months together.

In course of time, however, it became evident that such strictness could scarcely be kept up in practice. An easing up seemed to be strongly

demanded. Since the ecclesiastical authorities could in no wise preserve the traditional penitential regulations and yet wished to save at least their theoretical value, the need of the faithful had to be met in another way. This happened first of all through the so-called redemptions or ransoms, which about the middle of the seventh century first came into existence in Ireland and England, and then gradually spread to the continent. They consisted in this, that grievous and long enduring penances, especially very long fasts, could be commuted into something easier, generally into prayers and alms for good works. These changes, which actually amounted to a reduction of the penances, were thus from time to time adopted by the confessor in the tribunal of Penance. The changes for the commuting of fasting into almsgiving could be applied at will to different good objects; they should be devoted especially, as was often noted in the penance-books, to the poor and imprisoned, as well as to the churches.

These afore-mentioned penance-changings, which took place now and then in the confessional, prepared the way for other modifications in the discipline of penances, especially for such as the bishops outside the Sacrament of Penance would grant universally. These later modifications are indulgences in the present form, first met with in the eleventh century.[1] In connection with the imparting of such indulgences the bishop an-

[1]Compare the author's treatment of the beginning of indulgences in Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, XXXIX (1915), 193-230.

nounced: Whoever does this or that—for example, reverently visits a church, makes a contribution to the building of a church or hospital —will have a part of his penance remitted. Originally the indulgence was usually measured in fractions—a fourth, a third, or a half of the penance was remitted. Soon, however, it became more customary to dispense according to a definite time measurement. An indulgence of ten, twenty, forty days, or a year was imparted.

But in that way the faithful were not only released from the fulfillment of imposed or to-be-imposed ecclesiastical punishments. In addition a supernatural efficacy was from the first attributed to the indulgence. It was a remission, availing before God, of the temporal punishment due to sin, with the result that one who shared in an indulgence would have a shorter time in Purgatory. For example, one who gained an indulgence of forty days would be freed from that amount of temporal punishment which before God he would have satisfied for by an ecclesiastical punishment of forty days.

However, to gain the indulgence one must not be content with carrying out the prescribed works. The gaining of the indulgence must, if the conscience were burdened with mortal sin, be preceded by repentance and confession. Only after the forgiveness of the sin could the punishment due to it be remitted. Thus it was not the alms, nor indeed any external work, that here determined whether or not anyone was worthy of an indulgence, but the contrite disposition, the earnest

turning away from sin. Therefore it is well to observe that through the indulgence the penitential works were remitted only in so far as they were considered as satisfying for punishment due, and not in so far as they work for holiness and make men stronger in the struggle against evil.

Now a word upon the so-called alms-indulgences, that is, those indulgences which involved a contribution to some good work. That these indulgences in the course of time were the occasion of many abuses is universally known. Nevertheless, the idea by which the ecclesiastical authorities were led to introduce alms-indulgences is fundamentally unassailable: it was the ancient Christian view that alms can contribute towards the blotting out of sin and the punishment due to sin.

This view is found in Scripture (Tobias, IV, 11; XII, 9; Ecclesiasticus, III, 33; Daniel, IV, 24; Luke, XI, 41); it was often expressed in the works of the Fathers; and how thoroughly the faithful in the early Middle Ages were saturated with this idea is evident from the very numerous deeds of gift of that time. Again and again in the introduction to these deeds the idea is repeated that one can through alms, pious foundations, and gifts to the Church or convents more easily obtain from God the full forgiveness of one's sins. As the faithful themselves through alms and pious foundations hoped to obtain the full pardon of their sins, so the ecclesiastical authorities could commute the imposed or to-be-imposed penances into alms (redemptions). Or in consideration

of the alms which were to be paid, and as a reward therefor, the Church could moderate the penances through the bestowal of indulgences.

Today collections are taken up for good works, and each one is free to give or to refuse. It was not otherwise in the Middle Ages. That the popes and bishops imparted spiritual favors in order to incite the faithful to greater generosity cannot with justice be condemned. If the support of a useful public work is a good, praiseworthy action, then the ecclesiastical authorities can reward it even with spiritual favors. Thence it follows that the custom of giving indulgences to the promoters of useful public works, and the consequent connection of indulgences with money, is not to be condemned off-hand.

This custom that was so widespread in the Middle Ages corresponded to the spirit of that time. "While today lotteries are conducted for charitable purposes, for the building of churches and in favor of useful public institutions, in the Middle Ages indulgences were offered. Both historical periods are thereby strikingly characterized. In the Middle Ages the soul's salvation was the mightiest motive of human action; today avarice and the snatching after easy money have become dominant."[2]

On account of the connection of indulgences with money the Church is, indeed, often accused by her opponents of having "sold" indulgences for money. Similar accusations were decisively

[2]G. Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege, p. 398. Freiburg, 1884.

answered as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century by one of the most famous contemporary theologians of Paris, William of Auvergne. Against "the enemies of truth," the Waldenses of that time, he proved that in the granting of indulgences there could be no question of "merchandising," since they were not granted for money. The bishop who imparted an indulgence for the building of a church did not think of the money, but of the honor of God and the salvation of souls. If the church were built, God would be glorified and graces bestowed on the faithful. But as the church would not be built on account of money, although by means of money; so the indulgence would be granted not for money, but for the glory of God—although not without money, since the church could not be built without money.[3]

In the sixteenth century, the Bamberger cathedral preacher, Frederick Förner, sought to justify the alms-indulgences in similar wise: "Beloved, tell me, if a man gives a dollar to a poor man, does it follow that God gives him Heaven for the money? The money is not only not worth Heaven, but it cannot merit Heaven. It is the good work of mercy, through which the dollar is given to the poor man that, according to the promise of Christ, merits such heavenly reward." So also the indulgences are granted "not for money, but only for the good work of almsgiving."[4]

[3] Gulielmi Alverni, Opera omnia, I, 550, Aureliae, 1674.

[4] Fr. Förner, Vom Ablass und Jubeljahr orthodoxischer und summarischer Bericht, 146, Ingolstadt, 1599.

In the light of these introductory remarks one can judge more justly of the indulgences that in the Middle Ages were so frequently granted for objects of public utility.

SECTION I

INDULGENCES FOR ECCLESIASTICAL AND CHARITABLE OBJECTS

1. CHURCH-BUILDING

AMONG the works of public utility that were powerfully aided by indulgences church-building easily takes first place. Who could enumerate all the medieval cathedrals, parochial, collegiate, and conventual churches which since the eleventh century have in good part been built, endowed, and supported by money from indulgences? "It would be well worth while," writes a widely known historian, "to settle what buildings of the gothic period were erected with the help of indulgences, whether granted by bishops or popes. I have known so many of this kind, that I do not think I am going too far in saying that the majority of the great buildings were put up through the assistance of indulgences."[1] For the late gothic period this is undoubtedly saying too little. In the innumerable church-buildings that were undertaken especially in the fifteenth century, the indulgence almost everywhere played a more or less important rôle.[2]

How significant, oftentimes, was this rôle, is shown by the history of the Kaiserdom in Speyer. When this celebrated church, which in the year 1450 had been partially destroyed by fire,[3] was to

[1] A. Schulte, Die Fugger in Rome 1495-1523, p. 74. Leipzig, 1904.

[2] On the activity of that time in church-building consult Janssen, Geschichte des deutsches Volkes, I, 183ff.

[3] J. Geissel, Der Kaiserdom zu Speyer, p. 157ff. Köln, 1876.

be rebuilt, Pope Nicholas V on May 1, 1451, granted a plenary indulgence for this purpose. The indulgence might be gained at any time during five months and was to be preached in the dioceses of Speyer, Worms, Strassburg and Basel.[4] As to the results of the preaching of this indulgence a contemporary chronicler the Weissenburger patrician, Eikhardt Artzt, gives a detailed account.[5] He relates how an indulgence "of all sins from punishment and guilt"—as frequently the plenary indulgences were then called, especially if special jurisdiction for the confessors was connected with them[6]—had been obtained, and indeed for the faithful of four dioceses. "On this account there was such a great journeying to Speyer that always fifty and often a hundred priests with their stoles sat hearing confessions. And on the church doors in Speyer there was written in big letters in Latin and in German: In this place is full pardon of all sins for punishment and guilt. This indul-

[4]A copy of the unpublished indulgence bulls is found in a manuscript in the Munich Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 17833, fol. 391: "Nos . . . omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis de dictis civitatibus et dyocesibus qui dictam ecclesian devote visitaverint et pro restauratione ipsius ecclesiæ secundum suarum qualitatem facultatum manus porrexerint adjutrices, plenariam remissionem et omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam elargimur." In the same place (fol. 390) is a German translation of the bull. Another German translation is contained in the Speyer chronicle published by F. J. Mone, Quellensammlung der badischen Landes-geschichte, I, 386ff. Karlsruhe, 1848.

[5]Mone, Badisches Archiv für Vaterlandskunde, II, 232ff. Karlsruhe, 1827.

[6]On the so-called indulgences from punishment and guilt in the Middle Ages consult the author's treatment in Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, XXXVI (1912), 67ff., 253ff.

gence lasted five months, March, April, May, June and July."

In a second bull, in 1452, the Pope allowed the indulgence solemnities to be renewed for the three months of March, April and May. In the first year especially, many pilgrims, even of the upper classes, came to Speyer. "Many great princes, counts, lords, knights and squires from the above-named dioceses sought this grace and indulgence." Consequently "great good" came to Speyer. *"Thus was this cathedral rebuilt and finished through the above-mentioned grace and indulgence.* And many people were of the opinion that God had arranged this thing so that the greatest sins, that otherwise might have been concealed, would be confessed."

Therefore, there was the conviction that the indulgence had not only brought much money to Speyer, but that it had also caused many sinners to make a good confession.

That in those times it was known how to join both objects, the financial and the soul-seeking, in the indulgence solemnities, is shown by the annals of the cathedral of Milan. When the church corporation, with Count Francesco Sforza and Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, at their head, again sought an indulgence in Rome as they had often previously done, they not only represented that it would be useful for the construction of the projected gigantic church; but they likewise pointed out as a foremost consideration that, thanks to the jubilee indulgence, the grievous sins which had been committed in the last fear-

ful war could through sincere penance be atoned for.[7]

In a truly model way the government of Berne understood the value of an indulgence as a source of money and a means of moral regeneration.

In the year 1421 Berne had begun the erection of a new minster dedicated to St. Vincent. For the completion and fitting up of the vast building no sufficient means were at hand. So the magistrate, according to the custom of the time, had recourse to an indulgence, and in 1473 he sought from Sixtus IV a "Romfahrt." Thus at that time they called the great indulgence solemnities. In this connection it should be pointed out that during such a solemnity one could gain the same indulgence as by a pilgrimage to Rome in the year of jubilee.[8]

In response to the Bernese petition, the Pope on May 30, 1473, issued an indulgence bull in virtue of which anyone in Berne could through a contrite confession, a pious visit to the church, and alms for the completion of the minster, share in the same indulgences that were to be gained in the Eternal City during the jubilee. But the condition was laid down that the indulgence solem-

[7]Annali della fabrica del duomo di Milano, II, 145, Milano, 1877: "Sed quod ante omnia considerandum est, ut peccata nefanda et gravia, quae (pro dolor) praeteriti belli immanitas parturivit, hac vestra gratiosa indulgentia . . . extinguantur et convertentibus se ad poenitentiae gratiam . . . in Domino relaxentur."

[8]A. Fluri (Die Beziehungen Berns zu den Buchdruckern in Basel, Zürich und Genf, 1476-1536, p. 9, Bern, 1913) erroneously thinks that the indulgence was so called "because it imparted absolution for such sins as otherwise could be expiated for only by a pilgrimage to Rome."

nities should take place only after the expiration of the great jubilee of the year 1475.[9]

So the Bernese Romfahrt was fixed for Michaelmas, 1476. The time of grace was to last ten days. Of its progress the Bernese chronicler, Diebold Schilling, has left a detailed account[10] Schilling (+ 1486), who had been a member of the Great Council since 1468, lived in the midst of the events and wrote down what he himself saw and heard. He is a thoroughly trustworthy historian whose narrative "bears the stamp of truth and absolute honesty."

In order to make known in wider circles the favor that had been granted, the Bernese Council had more than a thousand copies of the indulgence bull printed in Basel. These were distributed in every direction. Invitations went as far as Cologne.[11] They could therefore count on a great concourse.

But it was still necessary to find someone who would explain the indulgence bull to the people and who during the Romfahrt would exhort them to penance. This preacher they found in Johannes Heynlin, whom Janssen justly praises as being a man "whose earnestness and strength of character equalled his universal learning, elo-

[9]Ablassbulle Sixtus' IV, zugunsten des St. Vinzen-Münsters, 1473. First completely printed by M. Flach in Basel by order of the Municipal Council of Berne. Facsimile reproduction according to the only known copy of the Kestner-Museum in Hanover.

[10]Die Berner Chronik des Diebold Schilling. Hrsg. von G. Tobler, II, 98ff., Berne, 1901.

[11]The pertinent resolutions are given by Tobler in his edition of Schilling, II, 98, Anm. 5.

quence, and energy."[12] Heynlin, born in 1430 at Stein near Pforzheim, was at that time pastor of St. Theodore in Little-Basel. Previously he had labored for several years as professor of philosophy and theology in the Paris university. Now he was called to Berne as preacher of the indulgence.[13]

On the Sunday before the feast of St. Michael —which in 1476 fell on Sunday—the "manifold holy indulgence was ushered in," narrates Schilling, "with the ringing of all the bells and with great joy." First the papal bull must be read and expounded. This was done "by the very learned Fr. John of Stein, doctor of Sacred Scripture," who explained from the pulpit "how the great indulgence could be gained." Thereafter Heynlin spoke daily to the people in the minster. The chronicler relates that every day "two excellent, praiseworthy sermons were preached," one early in the morning, the other in the afternoon, "by the aforementioned Dr. John of Stein and a pious Franciscan Observant, both of whom had been invited to Berne and had been very honorably entertained."

The preachers could not complain of paucity of hearers. Not only the Bernese, but also many outsiders, wished to avail themselves of the grace of the indulgence time. Even by the opening of the solemnities "very many strangers" were pres-

[12] Janssen I, 142.

[13] Hossfeld has devoted an admirable monograph to this pious and distinguished man in the Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, VI (1907), 309-356, VII (1908), 79-219, 235-431. The indulgence solemnity of 1476 is described VII, 187ff.

ent. Full fifty confessors were busy at the start "from early morning till night." "One might have thought that was enough." But they could not handle the crowd thronging around the confessionals, and many had to be sent away unshriven. "The Fathers, as announced in the minster, have turned in every direction to secure more confessors so that everyone might confess the most serious sins with little ceremony or formality because of the crowd of people, and so that everyone might have contrition and come to confession." The people followed the urging of the preachers, and in the course of the week there were over eighty confessors. "And could more have been found who were good and useful, they also would have been taken."

At that time it was yet customary that persons who had committed some serious public sin should undergo a public penance. In the Bernese Romfahrt, according to Schilling, there were "about four thousand" such public penitents—men and women. They were led by appointed priests "into the minster and around it from one confessor to another, and the men and women sinners were obliged to receive a public penance from each of the appointed confessors separately, to kneel before them, and to be absolved. And in this no one, either from Berne or elsewhere, was spared; for whosoever had sinned publicly had to do public penance according to the regulation and command of the confessors." Also "many public penitents, men and women," took part in the great procession on the feast of the

Archangel Michael, "the men naked [that is, as is clear from many contemporary sources, with the upper part of the body stripped] and the women barefoot with their hair hanging down, as is right for such public sinners."

Every day "very noble services" were sung by the auxiliary bishops of Basel and Constance and other prelates who had been invited to the indulgence solemnities. On the Sunday after St. Michael's the Bishop of Sitten sang High Mass. On this occasion the great minster was so crowded "that it could not well have accommodated any more." On the following Monday the indulgence was again announced "with the ringing of all the bells and great devotion." The sum contributed for the minster was not small. "The money was very great," says Schilling. "And as the Romfahrt ended, the money in very deep chests was committed and surrendered to the church wardens, so that they could with it provide for the completion of the minster, and might use or spend it in no other way." The chronicler ends with the pious wish that the indulgence "may result in salvation for all those who have sought it with contrition, confession, and devotion."

For the Michaelmas period in 1478 Berne requested of Sixtus IV a new Romfahrt and "indulgence of all sins for punishment and guilt," as Schilling expresses it.[14] Of the money that would result, two-thirds would belong to the minster-

[14] Schilling, 187ff. Hossfeld, VII, 206ff. C. Wirz, Regesten zur Schweizergeschichte aus den päpstlichen Archiven 1447-1513, 128f., Berne, 1913.

building and one-third to the Pope for "resistance to the Turks and other unbelievers."

Heynlin, who in the meantime had been called to Tübingen as pastor and professor of theology, was again pressingly invited to preach the sermons. So in September, 1478, he came a second time to Berne. The day before St. Michael's the Romfahrt proper began with the reading and explanation of the indulgence bull. As before, that was Heynlin's task; who now also during the indulgence time "preached in the minster once or twice every day and gave the people very praiseworthy and good instructions." "Other doctors and learned Observants" did the same.

The crowds were again very large. "Many people came to Berne from Germany and Italy." Confessors were employed "by the hundred." More than twelve hundred public penitents, men and women, took part in the procession. One of these women, who was separated from her husband, came from Zürich in order to share in the jubilee's grace. When she returned the Bernese Council gave her a letter to the Magistrate at Zürich beseeching him "kindly to help the woman, that she might come again to her husband; for she has here in the Romfahrt confessed and done penance and is willing in the future to conduct herself in a proper wifely manner."[15] How many erring souls, such as this woman, were, thanks to the Romfahrt, led back to a better frame of mind!

In the following year Berne received for the

[15]Printed by Tobler in his Schilling, II, 194.

third time from Pope Sixtus IV an "indulgence of all sins from punishment and guilt in the minster of St. Vincent for the sake of the noteworthy building of the same."[16] The Romfahrt was to take place in Lent of 1480.

Again the Bernese thought of the well-remembered Heynlin, who had recently been appointed pastor in Baden-Baden. In a letter of the seventh of January, 1480, the Bernese besought the Markgrave Christopher of Baden to give them the celebrated preacher for the Romfahrt, "since they sought an expounder of God's word who through wholesome teaching knew how to summon piety to their souls." To Heynlin, also, "their tried friend," they directed a pressing request to come to Berne, since they sorely needed his "wholesome teaching." The Bernese City Council in no wise wished the well-disposed man to come only "in order that they might parade him during the Romfahrt, or only so that they might use him to fill the coffers destined for the church building fund; they really entertained the same God-fearing sentiments as he."[17]

Heynlin declared himself ready to grant the wishes of the Bernese. On Lætare Sunday he began his sermons. So thoroughly did he please the Bernese that at the end of the indulgence solemnities they approached the Markgrave with the request that the distinguished teacher and preacher remain till the end of Lent, since the whole community "has a great desire for him."

[16]Schilling, 219ff. Hossfeld, VII, 240ff.
[17]Hossfeld, 250.

Heynlin again perfectly fulfilled the hopes placed in him. "The Lent of 1480," writes the Bernese church historian, E. Blösch, "was throughout not merely a time of superstitious ceremonies, religious theatricals, or unscrupulous traffic in indulgences, but according to the intention of the magistrates and thanks to the compelling preaching of the doctor it was a period of penance, of conversion, and of spiritual improvement."[18] The more than a week's activity of the preacher left its traces also in the public and civic life. Through his influence were enacted a series of municipal ordinances aiming at the sanctification of holy days, the punishment of slander and cursing, the removal of various abuses; moreover, by his advice a new school house was built and a better qualified teacher employed.[19]

The above-quoted Protestant historian, Blösch, writes further: "We are led to the conclusion that the vigorous moral preacher during the short time of his stay exercised an unusual influence and that he conveyed in no small degree to wider circles of the Bernese that desire for serious moral conduct in the public life that had moved the City Council to invite him."[20]

From this one can see that the indulgence solemnities, when they were well conducted, could work manifold blessings. To be sure, the indulgence practice of the late Middle Ages was often accompanied by grievous abuses. But one would

[18]Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte IX (1884), 53.
[19]Hossfeld, 253ff.
[20]Jahrbuch, IX, 54.

be guilty of great one-sidedness if he spoke only of abuses. There is not only the financial standpoint to be considered in the indulgences of the Middle Ages. Not without reason does Professor Emil Göller warn us in this connection "not to forget the religious motive."[21] It cannot be denied that the many indulgence sermons and innumerable confessions connected therewith helped many souls to be saved. On this point the famous Bishop of Hildesheim, Cardinal Bertram, writes: "Such confessions at the time of the solemn granting of indulgences, bound up as they were with gripping sermons, solemn worship of God, and with works of penance and prayer, had the significance for that time that a Catholic mission has today."[22]

Heinrich Schrörs, the Bonn church historian, expressed himself in a similar sense. Together with an energetic stressing of the serious abuses that the indulgence practice of the time carried with it, he called special attention to the circumstances which were appropriate "To make the indulgence preaching an opportunity for penance and the renewal of the religious life." "Concerning this side of indulgences," adds Schrörs, "much of value will perhaps be yielded from local sources."[23] How well founded is this remarks is shown by the indulgence solemnities at Berne.

Certainly the fact that a man such as Heynlin —whose religious earnestness and vigorous moral

[21]Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1905, 655.
[22]Ad. Bertram, Geschichte des Bistums Hildesheim, I, 477, Hildesheim, 1899.
[23]Wissenschaftliche Beilage zur Germania. 1904, Nr. 14.

character were praised even by Protestants—repeatedly appeared as the indulgence preacher, and in the year 1476 praised the Bernese jubilee as the "most useful, the most admirable, the most fruitful, the most joyful message which had ever come to Berne,"[24] is proof enough that the indulgence practice of that time was not so "demoralizing" as some present-day opponents of indulgences would like to make us believe.

Those who know how to speak only of the pernicious consequences of indulgences ought at least to remember that indulgences have contributed very largely to making possible the building and support of numerous churches. But since from a cultural standpoint these churches have poured forth immeasurable blessings upon Christian peoples, one must attribute to indulgences a share in this prosperous activity. Even present-day Protestants owe to indulgences, in part at least, many beautiful churches and many charitable institutions that have come down from previous Catholic times. In this connection the above-mentioned minster of Berne comes to mind. Though, of course, it is gross hyperbole when a Mecklenburg theologian asserts: "It is a fact, every sinking tower, every crumbling stone, was dressed and set by indulgences."[25] There is, however, no doubt but that many noble churches were built and supported by the help obtained from indulgence alms. But just in that financial as-

[24]Hossfeld, VII, 188.
[25]H. Schnell, Mecklenburg im Zeitalter der Reformation, 42, Berlin, 1900.

sistance this theologian sees a regrettable aberration. "If the Catholic Church produced noble and truly great church buildings in Mecklenburg in the Middle Ages, yet many a stone for them was laid through a mistaken piety of those who thought to make holiness serve their own selfish ends."[26]

But after piety had been deflected upon other paths through Lutheran teaching, how were the churches of God cared for in Mecklenburg? There was then no more talk of building churches; on the contrary, not a few churches were torn down and princely castles built with their stones; others were turned to worldly uses, while those that remained dedicated to worship fell into the greatest neglect. A Protestant author, son of a Mecklenburg minister, writes on this point: "In the second half of the sixteenth century the visitation records are full of complaints about the shocking appearance generally presented by the churches and cemeteries throughout the land. This neglect was afterwards much increased through the Thirty Years' War. The situation was later somewhat improved; but generally these localities remained in that neglected condition until a few years back, and unfortunately some even to our own day. I myself remember having seen in Mecklenburg some churches that abounded in filth and rubbish, and which in their delapidated condition looked more like old lumber rooms than like churches. To the honor of the Catholics (at least to those in Germany, where alone I have

[26] Ibid. 45.

had the opportunity of observing) I must add that I have never seen among them a similar neglect of churches, but on the contrary even the smallest country churches were always clean and cheerfully arranged."[27]

In the Catholic Middle Ages Christians were not content with putting up monumental church buildings; they moreover strove eagerly with the help of painting and sculpture to adorn the monuments of ecclesiastical architecture. "If the walls of the church were arranged so as to allow it, the staring spaces were usually made alive and filled inside and out with sculptures inculcating the holy teachings and traditions of Christianity, all persons and objects of which sculpture illuminated spiritual devotion, like 'the preachers of a higher life.' The Christian spirit pressed forward for the purpose of adorning and ennobling with the most beautiful and magnificent objects that the earth affords and that the power of the human soul can enhance, the place where the Savior dwells united with men in love and grace. In this way sculpture and painting grew out of architecture and in the service of the Church reached the noblest expression of the Christian spirit and life."[28]

Likewise in this artistic adornment of God's houses indulgences have given admirable service. Of this Munich affords an example.

The Frauenkirche, the second oldest parish church in Munich, had in the course of time be-

[27]E. Boll, Geschichte Mecklenburgs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturgeschichte, I, 392 f., Neubrandenburg, 1855.

[28]Janssen, I, 200.

come delapidated; and it was determined accordingly to raze the old building in order to erect in its place a much larger and more beautiful one. In the year 1468 the cornerstone of the new church, the present cathedral, was laid. The church corporation and the city shared in the expense. The former paid the workmen, while the municipal council furnished the material. After ten years the gigantic building was completed. But with its completion all the available means were exhausted, and the cost of the interior decoration was still to be defrayed.

Hence it was decided to call in the help of the Christian folk and to request in Rome a jubilee indulgence in order to elicit the charitable contributions. On October 7, 1479, Sixtus IV granted this indulgence and even continued it for three years. The solemnity should take place every Lent from Lætare Sunday until Judica Sunday. In order to make it easier for the people to gain the indulgence, the Pope granted to the confessors, as in time of jubilee, special jurisdiction. Two-thirds of the alms were to go for the decoration of the church, and one-third for the crusade against the Turks.[29]

The town clerk, Dr. Hans Kirchmaier, gives us a report of the Munich jubilee in the municipal council's records.[30] In the beginning of the year

[29]The indulgence bull is to be found among the posters of the Munich Staatsbibliotek, VI, 5.

[30]Published by K. A. Muffat, Baugeschichte des Domes zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München, 21ff., München, 1868. Cf. A. Mayer, Die Domkirche zu U. L. Frau in München, 74ff., München, 1868.

1480 eight priests with the necessary credentials and with copies of the papal bull rode out to the neighboring dioceses, in fact even to Bamberg and Würzburg, to announce the "grace." Special messengers had carried the invitations of the City Council to the surrounding cities. They had not counted in vain upon a participation of the faithful in outlying districts. The congestion of strangers surpassed all expectations. In the first year during the indulgence week more than 65,000 pilgrims came to Munich; in the second year 24,000; in the third 34,700; so that the crowd of strangers for all three years amounted to 123,700. In order to count this immense multitude a very simple expedient was employed. Only the four principal gates were opened; the others remained closed. "During the three years," relates the town clerk, "the Council had the people come in through the four gates, and a pea was dropped in a pot for each person who came in for the indulgence. At night the peas were counted."

On the part of the municipal authorities the most far-reaching arrangements were made so that the crowd of pilgrims might not be disorderly and that the visitors might find appropriate accommodations. Every night 400 armed men made the round of the city in order to keep the streets safe; a watch of 50 men sufficed during the day. "At each of the four principal gates eight men were stationed, while the other gates were locked. It was forbidden to transport filth or manure. All offal was burnt in caldrons. From each trade two

men were detailed to go around and show the people hostels."

For the spiritual needs of the pilgrims admirable provisions were likewise made. "On account of the crowd of people two hundred and seventy confessors were at first employed, and thereafter not many less." Daily during the indulgence time there were "at least two and often three sermons" preached in the Frauenkirche.

From all this one can see—to make a parenthetical remark—with what little right it has so frequently been asserted, that the indulgence had "long since been identified with the forgiveness of sins."[31] If the people looked upon an indulgence as the forgiveness of the guilt of sin, then why did they go to confession during the indulgence time? Why, then, during the great indulgence solemnities were so many confessors necessary, as was the case in Munich, Berne, Speyer, and other cities? This point has been admirably stressed by the Italian Dominican, Prierias, in his work against Luther's indulgence the-

[31] Thus again recently O. Vitense, Geschichte von Mecklenburg, 150, Gotha, 1920 (Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, III, 11). How little this author is qualified to give judgment in indulgence affairs is proved by his remark (p. 51) on Professor Pegel of the University of Rostock: "As early as 1516 Konrad Pegel came out against the shameless traffic in indulgences." For the information of his former pupil, Count Magnus von Mecklenburg, Pegel in 1516 published a little work on penance, Dialogus de poenitentia, printed by D. Schröder, Papistisches Mecklenburg, 2858-2866, Wismar, 1741. In this work Pegel did come out against the indulgence, as different Mecklenburg authorities assert. But the indulgence was not connected with any money. The booklet treats only of penance, and indeed in a thoroughly Catholic sense—"It is papistically written," as the elder Schröder has remarked.

sis: Even the less well-informed people know that since they go to confession to obtain forgiveness for their sins, the gaining of an indulgence is conditioned upon first removing the guilt of sin.[32]

The total contributions for the Munich indulgence in the three years reached a total of 15,232 gulden. Of that a third should have been paid to the papal treasury for the war against the Turks. In Rome they were satisfied with 500 ducats.[33] Hence, when we take into consideration the purchasing power of money at that time, there remained to the church management a goodly sum which could be applied to the artistic decoration of the new church.

Such examples, which could easily be multiplied, show the great help that Christian art received from indulgences. Even Protestant scholars have again and again noted this. For example, the American, H. C. Lea, writes: "The stately structures in which the devotion of the Catholic Middle Ages displayed itself could scarcely have been completed without the means furnished by indulgences, and the arts, which found in the Church their most generous patron, would not otherwise so quickly and so greatly have developed themselves. The noble cathedrals in Paris, Rheims, Cologne, St. Peter's in Rome, show us in concrete form the results of preaching indulgences through

[32]In presumptuosas M. Luther conclusiones de potestate pape Dialogus. Ohne Ort und Jahr. Bl. C_2. Against the remarks of Prierias Luther made no answer. (Luthers Werke, I, 683, Weimarer Ausg.)

[33]Schulte, Die Fugger in Rom, I, 258.

hundreds of years. So art has every reason to be grateful for the advancement that she received through indulgences."[34]

In a study on Beverley Minster, that was, like so many other medieval churches, built in part with indulgence alms, an English scholar remarks that an indulgence was in no wise, as is popularly supposed, a forgiveness of sins nor a permission according to one's pleasure to commit sin in the future, but merely a remission of the penance imposed for sins contritely confessed. In and for itself the indulgence was innocent enough: through this means an external penance was remitted in exchange for an alms for good works. "We cannot entirely condemn a system that has given us Beverley Minster, the Cathedral of York, the chapel of Eton College, and so many other noble buildings."[35]

Even in the Middle Ages, in order to spur the faithful to charitable contributions, attention was from time to time called to the beauty of the slowly rising architectural monuments. Thus Bishop Konrad of Strassburg in the introduction to an indulgence brief in the year 1275 in behalf of the Strassburg minster pointed out how "the work of the Strassburg church rose to heaven like the flowers of May in manifold beauty, attracted the eyes of the beholders more and more, and rejoiced them with sweet delightfulness."[36]

[34]H. C. Lea, A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church, III, 581, Phila., 1896.

[35]A. Fr. Leach, Memorials of Beverley Minster, II XXXI, Durham, 1903 (Publications of the Surtees Society, CVIII).

[36]Urkundenbuch der Stadt Strassburg, II, 28, Strassburg, 1886.

The indulgences referred to not only incited to generous almsgiving; they also aroused many of the faithful to gain the indulgence by personally sharing in the work of building. Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages indulgences were frequently granted for personal labor. Thus Bishop Heinrich of Strassburg in the beginning of the thirteenth century promised a special indulgence to all those who would carry or haul stone.[37] Bishop Eberhard of Constance in 1264 granted an indulgence for personal labor in building the Augustinian convent in Mindelheim.[38] The same thing was done in 1283 by Auxiliary Bishop Inzelerius in favor of the parish church in Hagenau.[39] Indulgences for furnishing stone and sand are noted repeatedly in the Zürich records of the second half of the thirteenth century.[40] In just the same way in England,[41] in France,[42] in Italy,[43] in Spain,[44] indulgences were often given for personal service in church building.

How attractive were indulgences of this kind is shown by an occurrence in Stralsund. Here in the year 1384, as the Pomeranian chronicler,

[37]Urkundenbuch Strassburg, I, 135 (1879).

[38]J. Ph. Brunnenmayr, Geschichte der Stadt Mindelheim, 87ff., mindelheim, 1821.

[39]C. Hanauer, Cartulaire de l'église S. George de Haguenau, 17, Strasbourg, 1898.

[40]Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich, IV (1898) 260; V (1901) 145, 217, 228.

[41]W. Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, 14, London, 1658.

[42]J. H. Albanès, Gallia christiana novissima, I, Instrumenta 53, Montbéliard, 1895.

[43]Regestum Clementis Papae V, n. 3596, Romae, 1885ff. F. Schneider, Regestum Volaterranum, 302, Roma, 1907 (Regesta chartarum Italiae I).

[44]España Sagrada XLIV, 320, Madrid, 1826.

Thomas Kantzow (+1542), relates, the tower of the Lady Church had fallen and battered in the roof and the arches of the church. The citizens wished to repair the tower and church. "But they bethought themselves that it would take a long time and cost much money before the stones and the rubbish could be cleared from the site. Therefore they received an indulgence from the Bishop of Schwerin that each man who removed a stone or anything else from the site should have an indulgence of forty days. Wherefore the people came in droves with carts and wagons, and crowded to clean the place. In this way the site was cleared in three weeks, that otherwise could not have been done for an hundred gulden and a longer time."[45] And the Protestant chronicler adds: "Thus one sees what the indulgences were worth at that time."[46]

In the year 1460, Bishop Dietrich of Brandenburg promised for a full day's work forty days indulgence to those who on work days would help in the rebuilding of a church in Berlin, and ten days indulgence to those who on Sunday or holy days worked four hours after the midday meal. Since it was for a pious work, remarked the bishop in the letter, he held that work on Sunday or holy days was allowable; it was also much better to serve God in this way than to be a slave to inordinate drink in a public house.[47]

[45]Th. Kantzow, Chronik von Pommern, in hochdeutscher Mundart. Hrsg. von G. Gaebel. Letze Bearbeitung, 227f., Stettin, 1897.

[46]Erste Bearbeitung, 145, 1898.

[47]A. Fr. Riedel, Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis, I, 8, 421, Berlin, 1847.

That the papacy also about the middle of the fifteenth century now and then granted indulgences for manual labor is seen from the indulgence bull which Eugene IV issued in favor of the cathedral of St. Lambert in Lüttich, 1443.[48] Through this bull all the faithful who helped in repairing the delapidated cathedral were entitled to receive from their confessor at the hour of death a plenary indulgence after having made a good confession. For the gaining of this indulgence, in addition to a good confession and helping the church, it was also required that one should fast every Friday for a year. In this case, too, the aforementioned assistance towards the repairs was not inconsiderable. In order to obtain the indulgence one had either personally to share in the labor or to pay the corresponding day's wage. For the rich thirty days' work was fixed, for the less well-to-do fifteen days.' Most of the people preferred to pay a set sum of money; yet there were not lacking many poorer people who declared themselves ready for work.[49]

From Freiburg in Breisgau it is related that during the completion of the local minster "laborers often came from distant parts to give gratuitous service, merely to share in the indulgences to be obtained."[50]

[48]Printed in the Chronique de Jean de Stavelot, publiée par A. Borgnet, 513 f., Bruxelles, 1861.

[49]P. Fredericq, Les comptes des indulgences papales émises au profit de la cathédrale de Saint-Lambert à Liége, 14f., Bruxelles, 1903. Reprint from the Mémoires de l'Axadémie royale de Belgique, Tome LXIII.

[50]H. Schreiber, Geschichte und Beschreibung des Münsters zu Freiburg i. Breisgau, 43, Freiburg, 1820.

2. HOSPITALS. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. WORKS OF MERCY. SCHOOLS.

BESIDES the churches, especially hospitals and manifold charitable institutions were established through numerous grants of indulgences. In the papal and episcopal registers, we find abundant accounts on this score.[1]

The documents in which the popes and bishops, under the promise of indulgences, commended to the hearts of the faithful the care of the poor and the sick, frequently had a beautiful introduction. What Bishop Guido of Pavia wrote about 1114 in an indulgence brief in favor of the hospital in Portalbero is an example of this: The greatest of all the commandments, he says, is the commandment of love, the love of God and of our neighbor. But this love should occupy itself with works of mercy, whereby we must think that whatever is done to the poor and the sick is done to Christ our Lord.[2] In the person of the poor the Lord Himself is clothed and housed and fed and given drink, declared Bishop Meinhard of Halberstadt in an indulgence brief dated 1245 for

[1] L. Lallemand, Historie de la Charité, 99, Paris, 1906: "C'est surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'accorder des indulgences en faveur des bienfaiteurs de maisons pies que les papes interviennent de la façon la plus active. Ces bulles se comptent par milleurs. . . . Ajoutons les nombreuses indulgences accordés directement par les évêques."

[2] Legè e Gabotto, Documenti degli Archivi Tortonensi relativi alla storia di Voghera, 16f., Pinerolo, 1908 (Biblioteca della società storica subalpina, XXXIX).

the Mary Hospital in Brunswick.[3] Whoever picks up a sick man and refreshes him does this to Christ the Lord, asserts Boniface VIII in an indulgence brief dated 1297 for the Hospital of Altopascio.[4] In another indulgence bull of the year 1299 for a hospital in Viterbo, the same pope remarks that a person can hardly offer to God a more pleasing sacrifice than that of taking up the sick and the poor and denying himself something to accommodate them.[5]

In the indulgence briefs we find the most diverse charitable institutions mentioned. The merit which from the eleventh century the brothers of Mt. St. Bernard have earned from travellers is universally acknowledged. For the support of the hospices on both the little and big St. Bernard, collections had to be instituted. Even in Germany the messengers of the Bernardines were not unknown. They, as other hospital orders, were in the field to offer indulgences to their benefactors. John XXII, who in 1323 granted for the members of their brotherhood a remission of a seventh part of the penance incurred, could in that connection point out that Innocent III and Clement IV had already given them the same privilege.[6] Clement V, also, in the year 1310 repeatedly issued indulgences in favor of the hospices.[7]

[3]Urkundenbuch der Stadt Braunschweig, hrsg. von L. Haenselmann, I, 44f., Braunschweig, 1900.

[4]Les registres de Boniface VIII, par Digard, Faucon et Thomas, n. 1780, Paris, 1884ff.

[5]Registres, n. 1780.

[6]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, analysées par G. Mollat, n. 17136, Paris, 1901f.

[7]Regestum Clementis V, n. 5898, 5924.

To the papal grants were added many indulgences from cardinals and bishops. They are collected in a printed communication which Bishop George of Bamberg in the beginning of the sixteenth century sent out to his clergy.[8] Julius II soon after confirmed them and added a plenary indulgence at the hour of death for the faithful who would give an alms sufficient at least to support one person for one day.[9]

According to ecclesiastical regulations bishops might grant an indulgence for only forty days. Clement V (1309), however, allowed them to grant an indulgence of one hundred days to the benefactors of an orphan asylum.[10] In the year 1311 the same pope granted an indulgence for a hospital in the diocese of Chartres that took care of many blind persons.[11] An institute in Paris exclusively for the blind likewise received an indulgence from Clement V.[12] This institute, which Louis IX had founded, had already been favored by the papacy with indulgences, as in the year 1291 by Nicholas IV.[13] In 1317 John XXII confirmed all these indulgences and thereto added another.[14] Some years later (1326) he granted another indulgence for the blind institute in Or-

[8]Printed by Pl. Sprenger, Alteste Buchdruckergeschichte von Bamberg, 68f., Nürnberg, 1800.

[9]Bekanntmachung des Priors von St. Bernhard von Jahre 1507 apud J. H. Hottinger, Historia ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti, VII, 81f., Tiguri, 1665.

[10]Regestum Clementis V, n. 4199.

[11]Regestum, n. 6137.

[12]Regestum, n. 3237.

[13]Les registres de Nicolas IV, par E. Langlois, n. 4752, Paris, 1886ff.

[14]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 3905.

leans.[15] Especially numerous are the papal and episcopal indulgences for the leper houses, so widespread in the Middle Ages.[16]

In the eleventh century the Lazarist order was founded for the care of lepers. This order had its own special indulgences that helped not a little to stimulate the faithful to generous contributions. The same is true of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Teutonic Knights, of the hospital order of the Holy Ghost, of the Antonius order, of the hospitals of St. Valentine in Rufach (Alsace), of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, of Cornelimünster near Aachen, and of others known far and wide through their alms-gatherers.

It happened, indeed, that the alms-gatherers of these institutions and societies, the so-called quæstors, through their offensive conduct often gave occasions for just complaints.[17] On the other hand, it must be granted that the care of the poor and the sick was mightily assisted through the indulgences. The income from indulgences in large measure defrayed the upkeep of many hospitals. This has been proved by recent research, as, for example, on the Holy Ghost Hospital in Rome,[18] on the hospitals of the German orders

[15]Lettres communes, n. 26758.

[16]Les registres de Nicolas IV, n. 4755. Th. Gousset, Les actes de la Province ecclésiastique de Reims, II, 313, Reims, 1843. Urkundenbuch Strassburg, I, 189. Ulmisches Urkundenbuch, I, 187, 252, 280, Stuttgart, 1873.

[17]In this connection consult the author's essay: Der Hauptschädling des Ablasses un Mittelatter, in Historischen Jahrbuch, XXXV (1914), 509-542.

[18]P. Brune, Histoire de l'ordre hospitalier du S. Esprit, 130ff., Paris, 1892.

in Prussia,[19] or on the great hospital Hôtel Dieu in Paris.[20]

As the nursing orders and the different charitable institutions enjoyed numerous indulgences, so special indulgences were often granted *for individual works of mercy*. John XXII granted an indulgence of this kind in 1329 for the support of poor women in confinement.[21] In Parma the custom arose for pious men to collect alms on specified days in order to support secretly in their homes the poor who were obliged to beg. Boniface VIII in 1297 praised this custom, and granted to the contributors an indulgence of one year and forty days.[22]

The provincial synod of Ravenna in the year 1311 also thought of the deserving poor. It decreed that the bishop should look to it that in every quarter of the episcopal city some pious men should be appointed to take up a collection and according to their best judgment to distribute the results among the deserving poor. Everyone who made a donation for this purpose received an indulgence of forty days. All those who busied themselves to bring about peace received the same indulgence.[23] A previous provincial synod of Ravenna that met in Forli in 1286 had tried to stimulate the clergy especially to charitable activity. To every bishop of the province was

[19]J. Rink, Die christliche Liebestätigkeit im Ordensland Preussen bis 1525, 41ff., Freiburg, 1911.

[20]E. Coyecque, L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au moyen âge, I, 136ff., Paris, 1891.

[21]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 11351.

[22]Registres de Boniface VIII, n. 1981.

[23]Mansi, Concilia, XXV, 473, Venetiis, 1782.

granted an indulgence of one hundred days if for a whole week he fed four poor persons once each day. A like indulgence could be gained by abbots who in the same way fed two poor men; by archdeacons, arch-priests, and priors who fed one poor person; and by the other clergy if they would feed a poor man merely once. Whoever gave a poor man a new coat received an indulgence of one year. If, however, the coat were old the donor received an indulgence of only forty days.[24]

For the support of the poor in the individual parishes (pauperum parochialium) each of the bishops at a provincial synod at Cambrai in the first half of the fourteenth century granted forty days' indulgence, in all four hundred and eighty days.[25] In 1288 Bishop Withego of Meissen granted an indulgence to the pious faithful who visited and consoled the sick in the hospital.[26] As the plague raged in Venice in the year 1446 Nicholas V empowered the Patriarch, Laurence Justinian, to give an indulgence to all the priests, doctors, and faithful who would call upon and care for the sick.[27] In the year 1515 Leo X granted an indulgence to those who, according to their means, would lesson the need of the numerous prisoners at that time languishing in the jails of Ferrara almost entirely neglected.[28]

[24]Mansi, XXIV, 617.
[25]Hartzheim, Concilia Germaniae, IV, 83. Gousset, II, 465.
[26]Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Meissen, I, 221, Leipzig, 1864 (Codex diplom. Saxoniae Regiae, II, 1).
[27]Fl. Cornelius, Ecclesiae Venetiae antiquis monumentis illustratae, XIII, 27, Venetiis, 1749.
[28]Leonis X Regesta, ed. Hergenröther, n. 16259, Freiburg, 1884ff.

Innocent VIII in 1488 granted a plenary indulgence to those who would for a year and a half take into their own home or otherwise provide for one of the children cared for in the Holy Ghost Hospital of Rome. The same reward was promised to those who enabled a poor girl to marry by providing a dowry.[29]

For the dowering of poor girls, which throughout Christendom was looked upon as a good, God-pleasing work[30] special indulgences were also granted. There is mention of papal indulgences of this kind in a form book dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[31] Faustus Sabæus, one of the representatives of the Holy Ghost Hospital in Rome, who in 1516 preached the indulgences of the order in Silesia, alluded in Breslau to the fact that a part of the collections would be used as dowries for poor girls.[32] A part of the contributions from the jubilee celebrated in Poland in 1451 likewise served this purpose.[33]

The benefactors of fallen women, who wished to begin a better life, were in 1322 promised an indulgence of forty days by John XXII.[34] Leo

[29]Acta Pontificum danica, IV, 439f., Kobenhavn, 1910. Cf. G. Schreiber, Mutter und Kind in der Kultur der Kirche, 42, Freiburg, 1918.

[30]Fr. Falk, Die Ehe am Ausgange des Mittelalters, 52ff., Freiburg, 1908 (Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, 4, VI).

[31]Mentioned by E. Göller in Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeigen, 645, 1905.

[32]Falk, 53.

[33]A. Theiner, Vetera monumenta Poloniae historiam illustrantia, II, 8of., Romae, 1860. M. Cromeri de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri, XXX, 337, Basileae, 1568.

[34]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 15749.

X in 1520 also rewarded with indulgences the care of reformed fallen women.[35]

In Rome there was a whole multitude of brotherhoods having charitable objects, and all of them were richly endowed by the popes with indulgences, especially the following: the brotherhood della Misericordia, whose object was to look after the spiritual needs and the burial of those condemned to death;[36] the brotherhood della Carità, founded for the support of the deserving poor, for the visiting of prisoners, and for the burial of paupers;[37] the brotherhood St. Giacomo degli Incurabili, which especially devoted itself to incurables.[38]

Among the indulgences for the support of the needy may be reckoned that granted in the year 1256 by Archbishop Albrecht of Riga, acting as papal legate, to those who for God's sake would help the shipwrecked.[39] A similar indulgence was granted in 1266 by the Cardinal Legate Guido.[40] Moreover, in 1509, Julius II rewarded with an indulgence of ten years and ten quarantines assistance given to the shipwrecked.[41]

In a time when numerous Christians were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Moors and sold as slaves, it was considered one of the greatest

[35]Bullarium romanum, V, 742ff., Augustae Taurinorum, 1860.
[36]Bull. rom., V, 343ff. Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste III (1899), 36.
[37]Bull. rom., V, 739ff. Pastor, IV, 2, 588ff.
[38]Bull. rom., V, 639ff. Pastor, IV, 2, 588.
[39]Fr. G. v. Bunge, Liv-, Esth- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch, I, 379, Reval, 1853.
[40]Ibid., 495f.
[41]Bull. rom., V, 477.

works of mercy to help these unfortunatēs. Two orders had been founded to ransom the prisoners, that of the Trinitarians and that of the Mercedarians, both of which were given rich indulgences by the Holy See in order that they might the more easily obtain the necessary funds.

But apart from these orders, popes and bishops have granted plentiful indulgences for the aforementioned purpose. On the complaint of the Bishop of Elno, to a synod held at Narbonne in 1135 under the presidency of a papal legate, that many of his subjects had been imprisoned by the Saracens, the synod granted a plenary indulgence to those who according to their means would contribute to the ransom of these captives. Public sinners, however, were excluded from this indulgence. These had to apply to their bishop. Then, if he deemed it advisable, they could share in the indulgence.[42]

Bishop Gaufred of Barbastro, in the year 1137, also granted an indulgence for the ransom of prisoners. According to the amount of the alms, the contributors were to receive an indulgence of forty, twenty, or ten days, respectively.[43]

But above all the popes by the granting of indulgences sought to further the freeing of poor prisoners and the support of those Christians driven out of their own country by the infidels. We may cite as examples: John XXII,[44] Clement

[42] Villanueva, Viage literario, VI, 341, Valencia, 1821.
[43] España Sagrada, XLVI, 287, Madrid, 1836.
[44] Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 4558, 13034.

VII,[45] Boniface IX,[46] Martin V,[47] Nicholas V,[48] Calixtus III,[49] Pius II,[50] Sixtus IV,[51] Innocent VIII,[52] Alexander VI,[53] Leo X[54]

From time to time indulgences were granted for schools and poor students, as by Innocent IV and several bishops in favor of a house of studies that the Cistercians had founded in 1244 at Paris. In a brief that the Parisian Bishop, William of Auvergne, directed to his clergy about the end of 1248 there is a total of eighteen hundred and thirty days given for this purpose.[55] Some years later (1262), Urban IV issued an indulgence of one hundred days for the support of poor students who had found a home in the newly established Sorbonne of Paris.[56]

The Cardinal Legate, Romanus, in 1229 granted a remarkable privilege to the new University of Toulouse. On its opening, the Univer-

[45]Eubel, Bullarium Franciscanum, VII, 213, 216, Romae, 1904. Denifle, La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans, II, 686, Paris, 1899.

[46]Ripoll, Bullarium ordinis Praedicatorum, II, 361, 366, 403, Romae, 1730.

[47]Raynaldus, Annales ecclesiastici 1429, n. 21.

[48]Raynaldus, 1452, n. 10. Pastor I (1901), 829.

[49]Bull. rom., V, 131f.

[50]Raynaldus, 1462, n. 40. Theiner, Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia, I, 442, Romae, 1863.

[51]Gottlob, Aus der camera Apostolica, 187. Päpstliches Geheim-Archiv Regest., 608, f. 275; 623, f. 11. Quoted by Prof. Schlecht.

[52]Gottlob, 187.

[53]Ibid., 187.

[54]Regesta Leonis X, n. 3471, 4559, 5056, 5261, 5409, 5500, 5585, 6505, 6798, 6936, 6937, 7847, 11193, 11200, 12518, 12747, 12748, 14015, 15575, 16520, 16724, 17520.

[55]Denifle, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, I, 208, Parisiis, 1889.

[56]Ibid., 423f.

sity sent a letter to those studying elsewhere to invite them to Toulouse. In this letter special attention was called to the fact that the Cardinal Legate had promised a plenary indulgence to all the members of the university, professors as well as students. Later it was determined how long one must attend the school in order to obtain the indulgence.[57]

Since at that time the pope granted plenary indulgences only for the purpose of a crusade, the legate who in 1228 [1208 ?] had been entrusted with the organization of a new crusade against the Albigenses, openly expressed the view that to work and study in a school that opposed heresy was to take part in the crusade. He attributed to the schools great importance as a means for combating error. After the capture of Avignon in 1226, he obliged the city to support a professor and twelve students for the conquest of heresy.[58]

When towards the end of the fifteenth century the Friars Minor conceived the plan of extending and furnishing anew their great house of studies at Paris, Innocent VIII, in order to further the useful undertaking, granted a plenary indulgence which could be preached not only in France, but also in the neighboring countries.[59] The contribu-

[57]Ibid., 130f.

[58]L. H. Laborde, Avignon au XIIe siècle, 30f., Paris, 1908.

[59]Different posters which appeared about 1488 refer to this indulgence. Cf. Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis herausgegeben von den Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Nr. 59, 376, 439, Halle a. d. S., 1914. P. Fredericq, Les Comptes des indulgences en 1488 et en 1517-19 dans la diocèse d' Utrecht,

tions that were in this way brought together found a good application. When in 1516 the Bavarian Franciscan provincial, Kaspar Schatzgeyer, and his companion, Konrad Pellikan, visited the Parisian cloister they found there no less than three hundred and fifty students, among them also some German brothers.[60]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Julius II likewise granted a plenary indulgence in favor of another Parisian house of studies, the Collége Mantaigu.[61]

James Ridder, auxiliary bishop of Utrecht, granted a remarkable indulgence in 1507 to the Brothers of the Common Life. He promised an indulgence to the young people who would attend the school of the Brothers in Utrecht, humbly obey their teachers, and willingly put up with correction and whipping. The faithful who helped the Brothers with copying, illuminating, and binding books, or who bought copied books from them, were likewise granted indulgences by Bp. Ridder.[62]

Other bishops supported the art of printing by granting indulgences. When in 1481 Bishop Rudolf of Würzburg had a new missal printed he granted an indulgence of forty days to all those

18ff., Bruzelles, 1899 (Separatdruck aus Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique (LIX) Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis, III, 454ff., Leiden, 1831.

[60]Das Chronikon des Konrad Peillikan, hrsg. durch B. Riggenbach, 53, Basel, 1877.

[61]An indulgence brief bearing on this is noted in L. Rosenthal's Katalog, 150, Nr. 2907.

[62]A. Matthaeus, Fundationes et fata ecclesiarum praesertim quae Ultrajecti fuerunt, 366ff., Leiden, 1704.

who by advice and labor helped in the printing, to those who bought a copy of the new missal, and to those who would read Mass out of it. The same was done in connection with the printing of the Würzburger breviary in 1482. Bishop Henry of Ratisbon likewise granted an indulgence in favor of the missal published in 1485.[63]

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[63]Fr. Falk, Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche, 22, Köln, 1879 (Vereinschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft).

3. THE TRUCE OF GOD

AMONG the beneficent arrangements furthered by indulgences belongs the so-called truce of God. After different attempts by bishops of the South of France to check the disastrous feuds and fist-law through covenants of peace, the truce of God was first set up in France shortly before the middle of the eleventh century, and soon spread to the neighboring countries. Even in the beginning, the forgiveness of sins was held up before those who would support the striving after peace. In this connection, however, no indulgence was granted; there was merely expressed the conviction that anyone who conscientiously observed the peace could obtain the forgiveness of his sins, as by a pious, God-pleasing work.[1] Towards the end of the eleventh century indulgences were first granted to those who furthered the attempts at peace.

Among the earliest indulgences for this purpose, the one granted by a provincial synod of Rheims, held in 1092 at Soissons, deserves a high place.[2] In the statutes of the synod there is mention of a double indulgence. First it was de-

[1]Cf. Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, XXXII (1908), 640f.

[2]The statutes of this synod have been published simultaneously by M. Sdralek from a Wolfenbüttler MS, Wolfenbüttler Fragmente, 140f., Münster, 1891 (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, I, 2) and by Wasserschleben in Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechstgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung, XII, 112ff., Weimar, 1891.

termined that the bishops could lessen the penance —according to the measure of the penitents' accomplishments—of those who took part in a campaign against the peace-breakers. Then to all who had sworn to observe the peace and had kept their oath, the synod remitted the penance due for a serious confessed sin.

In the year 1105 at a great gathering of clergy and laity held in Constance under the presidency of a papal legate, it was resolved that the truce of God should be enforced in the diocese. To those who would keep it, Bishop Gebhard III promised a remission of two years, in case they had to perform a seven year penance.[3]

The indulgence granted by the Papal Legate and Archbishop, Diego of Compostella, in the year 1124, with several other bishops of a synod, reads otherwise. It was resolved in it that the peace-breakers should be brought to obedience by force of arms. To the representatives of public order who might fall in this warfare, the bishops promised the same plenary indulgence that the crusaders could gain. A similar indulgence was promised to those who out of obedience to the articles of peace laid down their arms and were afterward killed by their enemies.[4]

In a document whose date we cannot fix very closely, Bishop Arnold of Narbonne (1121-1149), working in common with other grandees of South France for the truce of God, likewise

[3]Monumenta Germaniae historica. Legum Sectio IV, Tom. I, 615.

[4]España Sagrada, XX, 418.

granted an indulgence to the defenders of the peace union. In what form, however, this indulgence was issued is not known, as the wording of the resolution has not been preserved. The endorsements of Hadrian IV (1157-1159) contain only a short statement relative to the contents of the decree.[5] This peace which had, perhaps, been approved as early as the twelfth century by Eugene III (1150-1153)[6] was later confirmed anew in the indulgence issued by Alexander III (1160-1176),[7] and Clement III (1191).[8]

More accurate information is available concerning the indulgence which the Papal Legate and Archbishop, Wilhelm von Auch, promised about the year 1140 on the announcement of the aforesaid peace by the Second Lateran Council (1139).[9] To those who laid down their lives in upholding the truce of God a plenary indulgence was granted; the other defenders of peace received an indulgence of two years. Yet it was left to the bishops to grant a greater indulgence to those who spent a longer time in service.

[5]Hadrian's writings are found in W. Wiederhold, Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Beiheft zu den Göttinger Nachrichten, 114ff., 1907.
[6]Idem, 115.
[7]P. Kehr, in Göttinger Nachrichten, 392, 1899.
[8]H. Prutz, Malteser Urkunden, 44, München, 1883.
[9]Bouquet-Brial, Recueil des historiens des Gaules, XIV, 392, Paris, 1806.

4. THE CRUSADES

AS THE truce of God must be looked upon as a religious movement, so also the Crusades have to be considered ecclesiastical undertakings. How much western civilization, material as well as spiritual, owes to the Crusades, has often been sufficiently described. "The impetus in trade and commerce, in art and science, that raised the Middle Ages to the highest point of their development is undeniably an actual consequence of the intimate contact between East and West accomplished by the Crusades."[1]

"While important as are the Crusades for what they positively accomplished, they are more important still for what they prevented. It is customary, but nevertheless erroneous, to look upon the Crusades as wars of conquest, as an attack of Christendom on Islam proceeding entirely from religious fanaticism. If there ever was a war of defense, then the Crusades must be considered such in their place in world history. . . . The crusading movement was a struggle that Christianity waged for its very existence. . . .

"Instead of complaining of the roving about and restless desire for achievement of our medieval forefathers, we ought rather to thank them that at the very time of the greatest power of the

[1]A. Knöpfler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 5 Aufl., 415, Freiburg, 1920.

Moslem peoples they turned back from Europe the stream of Asiatic barbarism and thereby at the same time saved and advanced western civilization."[2]

Nor were the Crusades that the popes undertook with new zeal and in spite of all failures about the fifteenth century, after the fall of Constantinople, without lasting effects. "When at that time . . . . . the Turkish power mounted so dangerously in the East, and then to complete the astonishing success of the Janissaries, pressed on to destroy the whole of western civilization, the popes were the only ones who, even when they were themselves politically powerless, earnestly thought of withstanding the advance. They supported with uncounted sums the fighting Greeks, Rhodesians, and Cyprians, and awaking the recollection of the warlike times of the Crusades, called for war against Islam."[3]

As in earlier times the promise of indulgences had played an exceedingly important rôle, so now the "uncounted sums" with which the Holy See supported the champions of Christianity were in large part raised by the preachers of indulgences. Therefore, if, as is today universally acknowledged, the Crusades had a surpassing share in the development of western civilization, then the indulgences, by which the Crusades were so

[2]F. W. Kampfschulte, Ueber Charakter und Entwicklungsgang der Kreuzzüge, in der Oesterreichischen Vierteljahreschrift für katholische Theologie, II (1863), 210f.

[3]Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, 179. Cf. Pastor, I, 655ff.

strongly assisted, ought to be numbered among the factors of civilization.[4]

[4]Cf. Lea, Confession and Indulgences, III, 582: "The crusades . . . found their chief source of support in indulgences, without which they would speedily have languished and have been abandoned."

SECTION II

INDULGENCES FOR SOCIALLY USEFUL TEMPORAL OBJECTS

1. BRIDGEBUILDING

WE MUST not be surprised that among the works for whose support indulgences were granted there are found some which today would be considered purely worldly. In the Middle Ages Church and State, eternal and temporal, were not so strictly separated as in a later time; on the contrary, everything temporal was then brought into relation with things eternal. Proceeding from this viewpoint, Thomas Aquinas teaches: Indulgences cannot be granted for what is purely worldly, but they can be granted for worldly objects insofar as these are related to spiritual matter.[1] Moreover, since princes and cities were only too often in financial straits because of defective administration of the revenue and frequently called upon the Church to help in their manifold social necessities,[2] it is easily explained how so many indulgences were granted for socially useful purposes.

Of the socially useful temporal works which in the Middle Ages tended to be brought into relation with religion, *bridgebuilding* deserves first place. Some ten years ago the distinguished scholar, Fr. Falk, in a long essay entitled "The Church and Bridgebuilding in the Middle Ages," showed, from numerous original sources, how

[1] In IV Sent. d. 20. q. unica, a. 3, quaestiuncula 3 (Sum. Theol. Supplementum, q. 25, a. 3).
[2] Gottlob, 179ff.

zealously the Church on her part furthered the building of bridges.[3] "As once in Roman times the legionaries of Rome marched forth, and under the protection of arms spanned the then known and accessible world with a network of roads,—so in later times a similar activity came forth from Rome. For the Church's active orders, bishops, and others through religious motives built bridges, looked after their safe passage, or through the indulgences granted by popes and bishops in the case of bridges—'bridge indulgences'—stirred up the necessary zeal in the hearts of the faithful."[4]

Along the same lines another scholar has pointed out how "under the charitable influences of Christian teaching" pious believers exerted themselves "to erect special hostels, to keep rafts, and finally to build bridges in the very frequented places of the river banks." "There arose bridges, especially, to which religious thought and pious opinion gave the impulse. The building of a bridge was valued next to the building of a church, as a most meritorious work; papal and episcopal indulgences were granted therefor."[5]

As early as the Middle of the twelfth century it was customary to grant indulgences for the building of bridges, as is shown by a document of

[3]Histor-pol. Blätter, LXXXVII (1881), 89-110, 184-201, 245-59.

[4]Idem, 91.

[5]J. Becker, Die religiöse Bedeutung des Brückenbaues im Mittelalter mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Frankfurter Mainbrücke, im Archiv für Frankfurter Geschichte. Neue Folge, IV, 10, Frankfurt, 1869.

Alexander III to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[6] The latter had asked in Rome whether others than the subjects of the bishop granting the indulgence could use indulgences granted for the consecration of a church or the building of a bridge (quae fiunt in dedicationibus ecclesiarum aut conferentibus ad aedificationem pontium). The granting of indulgences at that time was especially concerned with the dedication of churches. The joining of bridge indulgences with the plentiful church dedication indulgences therefore shows clearly enough that the former were at that time already in vogue. Alexander III in his reply made it clear that the subjects of other dioceses could use the indulgences only with the consent of their own superiors. This document afterwards found a place in the official collection of the papal decretals,[7] and consequently helped not a little to a wider extension of the bridgebuilding indulgences.

Moreover, there were not lacking theologians to justify these indulgences. Among the oldest theologians who understandingly discussed indulgences is William of Auvergne, who after serving a long time as teacher in the Paris university, was named Bishop of Paris in 1228 and died in 1249. William treats of indulgences in his work on the sacraments, when he discusses the ordination of priests. He considers as settled the right of bishops, through the granting of indulgences, to lessen or to change the penance imposed by the con-

[6] Between 1161 and 1175. Cf. Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, II, n. 12411, Lipsiae, 1888.
[7] c. 4 X de poen. et rem. V, 38.

fessor, as often as they find it for the honor of God, the salvation of souls, or the good of the whole Church. In this connection he speaks of the indulgences granted for monasteries, hospitals, and the building of bridges and roads. The benefactors of these institutions and undertakings, he proceeds, perform a work of neighborly love pleasing to God, for which the Church rightly rewards them. Moreover, they have a claim to the prayers and good works of the religious who live in the convents, the poor and sick who are brought to the hospitals, the pilgrims and pious travellers who journey over those roads and bridges. In consequence of this spiritual company they are, not without reason, released from the imposed penances, since others by means of prayers and good works intercede for them with God.[8]

An anonymous theologian of the diocese of Metz in his unprinted treatise on the sacraments, composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, has turned to good account the investigations of William, and he has copied his discussions on indulgences, in part verbatim. Yet now and then he has added something of his own that is not without interest.

In a truly popular way he defends the road and bridge indulgences.[9] The bishops, he explains, are perfectly justified in granting indulgences for the building of roads and bridges, since these rebound to the good of pilgrims and pious trav-

[8] Gulielmi Alverni episcopi Parisiensis Opera omnia, I, 552, Aureliae, 1674.

[9] Summa sacramentorum. Handschriftlich auf der Münchener Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 22243, fol. 44.

ellers. It is a great charity, he proceeds, to level the way, and to remove the stones and mud from the roads. If the roads are bad and dangerous, the travellers would be retarded or they would hurt themselves and suffer all sorts of mishaps: the wagons would turn over, the wine be spilt, the horses fall down, the men get angry and curse all those who should have kept the roads in good condition but failed to do so. Moreover, they would slander God and His holy saints most shamefully. Sometimes they might even lose their lives, as did the driver who in the midst of his cursing and blaspheming fell under the wagon and had his neck broken by the wheels. Now whoever through his alms prevents all these evils not only honors God, and earns blessings and prayers of the travellers, but likewise serves eternity. From this we see that had Julius Cæsar, who lived ten years in Gaul and built many level and safe roads, been a believer, he could by such a good work have gained a priceless glory in heaven.

From this religious valuation of socially useful works, it is readily seen why the great preacher, Berthold of Ratisbon, enumerates road building and path making in the series of works of Christian love, and ranks them actually as service of God. He says: "Since God has created all things for the use and service of man and since God Himself serves man . . . so is it reasonable that man should serve Him with his whole heart. . . . Who is rich ought to give alms and found Masses, make roads and paths, endow convents and hospitals, feed the hungry, give drink

to the thirsty, clothe the naked, harbor the stranger, and altogether perform the six works of mercy."[10]

Just because labor directed to the building of roads and bridges, insofar as it was done for the honor of God and out of love for one's neighbor, availed as God's service, it was from time to time permitted by bishops on Sunday and holy days. The above mentioned theologian, however, makes mention of an abuse connected with this Sunday activity. Many, says he, deprive themselves of the merit of their labor, since they miss Mass on Sunday and holy days, and early in the morning to the sound of drums and foolish music they draw wagons, carry stones, and afterwards loaf in the tavern. They ought first to hear Mass and then do their work in simplicity and humility.

Let us now see how in the individual countries indulgences were granted for bridgebuilding. Italy will lead, because here the oldest of such indulgences are found. It may well be that similar indulgences were granted elsewhere at an earlier date; but so far no details are known about them.

In Italy the popes sought especially to promote a bridge across the Arno at Fucecchio (Ficiclo, Ficecclo) between Florence and Pisa. This bridge and the adjacent hospital belonged to the Hospitallers of St. James of Altopascio, a religious community founded about the middle of the eleventh century for the care of pilgrims and

[10]Berthold von Regensburg, Deutsche Predigten, hrsg. von Fr. Pfeiffer, I, 190, Wien, 1862.

travellers.[11] Altopascio (*Altus passus*), formerly of the diocese of Lucca, now of the diocese of Pescia, was with its great hospital (*domus hospitalis S. Jacobi de Altopassu*) the mother house of the order, which first spread over Italy, and later over other countries.

In 1459 Pius II wished to suppress the order, which was no longer in keeping with the spirit of the times. He had intended to combine it with the recently planned order of Bethlehemites, that was to oppose the advance of the Turks. But the order of Bethlehemites did not come into existence,[12] and so the community of Altopascio remained until nearly the end of the sixteenth century. It was finally suppressed by Sixtus V in 1587.[13] That one of its chief tasks was the building of bridges, as is so often asserted, is not correct.[14] It is only true that they cared for one or another bridge, especially for the bridge by Fucecchio, where the principal road from Lucca to Florence, Siena, and Rome passes.

This bridge, which according to all appearances

[11]Cf. Joh. Lamius, Deliciae eruditorium XVI, 1233-2493, Florentiae 1754. T. Lorenzi, L'ospizio e il paese di Altopascio, Prato, 1904. J. Kehr, Regesta Romanorum Pontificum. Italia Pontificia, III, 470ff., Berokini, 1908.

[12]Cf. H. Prutz, Rüstungen zum Türkenkrieg, in den Siztungsberichten der bayerishen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophische und histor. Klasse, 4 Abhandlung, S. 6ff., 1912.

[13]Kehr, 471. Already in 1572 the Benedictines had the order's house in Paris (St. Jacques du Haut-Pas). Hélyot, Histoire des ordres religieux, II, 278, Paris, 1714. Therefore the statement found so frequently in recent works that the order of Altopascio was suppressed in 1459 is incorrect.

[14]In the rule, printed by Lamius, 1432ff., there is not one syllable about bridgebuilding.

was originally built of wood,[15] was often seriously weakened by the wild floods, and sometimes even almost entirely destroyed. Hence its upkeep meant no small expense. This explains why the popes through the promise of indulgences so often encouraged the support of this commercially important bridge. The first pope mentioned as having granted an indulgence of forty days for the support of the bridge at Fucecchio is Alexander III (1159-81). His example was followed by Lucius III, Urban III, Clement III, Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Alexander IV, Urban IV. All the indulgence briefs seem to have been lost. Clement IV, however, mentions them in his letter of April 20, 1265, wherein he admonishes the faithful to help the brothers of Altopascio in rebuilding the bridge that had so often been destroyed (qui saepe subvertitur). Like his predecessors, he granted an indulgence of forty days for a charitable contribution. However, the privilege was to last for only three years.[16] As the other popes had placed a similar condition on the indulgence its frequent renewal is easily explained.

Clement IV, following his immediate predecessor, Alexander IV, granted for Fucecchio a second indulgence, but of a somewhat different

[15] In an indulgence brief of Altopascio of the year 1431 mention is made of a stone bridge (preciosi pontis lapidei). Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Ober-rheins, XVI, 216 (1864).

[16] F. Schneider, Regestum Volatteranum, 254, Roma, 1907. Schneider thinks that the indulgence briefs of Alexander III have been preserved; but the writings to which he refers contain no grant of indulgences; they merely confirm the possessions and privileges of the order.

purport. This is referred to in 1297 in an indulgence brief of Boniface VIII. At the Arno bridge in Fucecchio, near the pilgrims' house, there was a church of the Blessed Virgin, which every year on the feast of the Assumption was visited by numbers of faithful. Many of the pilgrims at this time gave their mite also for the upkeep of the expensive bridge. In order to encourage their generosity still further Boniface VII, like his predecessors, Alexander IV and Clement IV, granted an indulgence of one year and forty days to all those who on the feast of the Assumption or during its octave should visit Fucecchio and make a contribution for the bridge: "Whoever shelters and refreshes a poor man, shelters and refreshes Christ the Lord; and whoever through building a bridge makes easy and safe a difficult and dangerous river-crossing, truly loves his neighbor and preserves him from the danger of death."[17] Surely an interesting reason for the bridge indulgences.

The same reason appears again in a document wherein Clement V, under date of March 1, 1314, renewed the indulgence of one year and forty days to be gained on the feast of the Assumption.[18] A longer document with the same date renews the indulgence of forty days for charitable contributions. The testimonial to the brothers stated that they had at their own expense out of pure neighborly love (caritatis igni succensi) restored the bridge, destroyed by a flood, at a passage over

[17]Les registres de Boniface VIII, n. 1780.
[18]Regestum Clementis V, n. 10311.

the Arno where many were exposed to the danger of drowning (ubi multi periclitari solebant).

A third document of March 1, 1314, relates that the very necessary bridge had been destroyed anew in a recent battle. For this reason the faithful were urged once more to lend a helping hand to the brothers.[19] Some years later John XXII also encouraged the rebuilding of the bridge through the promise of an indulgence of forty days.[20]

For a bridge in Terracina Honorius III, in 1223, granted an indulgence of ten days.[21]

In the neighborhood of the port of Pisa a hospital was founded for poor people in 1155.[22] Some ten years later the brothers of this institution began the construction of a bridge. But since they could not complete the work with their own means, they turned to Lucius III with the request that he grant an indulgence in favor of their undertaking. The pope granted their petition, and under date of April 28, 1185, issued an indulgence of thirty days to the benefactors of the new bridge.[23] In the accompanying document the socially useful character of the new bridge is emphasized (in quo universorum transeuntium per locum ipsum saluti consulitur). Three years later (January 11, 1188) Clement III renewed

[19]Idem, 10300, 10312.

[20]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 10410.

[21]Pitra, Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis, I, 242, Parisiis, 1885. Pressutti (Regesta Honorii III) seems to have overlooked this document, as it is not mentioned by him.

[22]Kehr, III, 375.

[23]J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, Acta Pontificum inedita, III, 320, Stuttgart, 1888.

the indulgence,[24] as did Celestine III in 1191 and Innocent III in 1203.[25]

In the diocese of Genoa a community of brothers had the hospital and bridge of Lavagna under their care (fratris pontis et hospitalis de Lavania). Innocent IV in 1253-54 granted to their benefactors an indulgence of a seventh part of their penance.[26]

Two documents of Urban III (1186-87), in which he requests the faithful to contribute towards a bridge in Bologna[27] have also been looked upon as grants of indulgences.[28] But neither bull contains any such grant. They are merely recommendations, such as the ecclesiastical authorities today issue from time to time concerning collections for good objects.

Numerous bridge-indulgences are found in the South of France. Here arose, as many recent authors assert again and again, a special community, later on very widespread, which from its chief occupation, the building of bridges, was called "fratres pontifices," that is, bridgebuilding brothers.

"This community," writes Ratzinger, "arose in the twelfth century, and the members pledged themselves with a vow to protect merchants and travellers from being plundered, to take them across the rivers free of charge, to build hospices

[24]Idem, 356.
[25]Kehr, III, 376.
[26]G. Erler, Der Liber Cancellariae Apostolicae v. J. 1380, 126, Leipzig, 1888.
[27]Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Reg. Rom. Pont., n. 15773, 15874.
[28]So F. Falk im Kirchenlexikon, II, 1330.

for the sick and poor travellers on the river banks and in remote regions, and to construct bridges and roads. The founder of this community is a poor shepherd boy, the little Benedict, called Benezet, who excited a universal sensation and won undying fame through the bridge that he built across the Rhône at Avignon. The community was approved by Pope Clement III in 1189. It spread very rapidly over the whole of France, Italy, Spain, Scotland, and other countries, obtained great possessions and privileges, and for a long time worked most prosperously.[29]

Other authors relate that the order of the "Bridge Brothers" was suppressed by Pius II because of inner decay.[30] But what is related of this alleged widespread order was long ago shown by a French investigator to be untenable. This scholar, L. Bruguier-Roure, in 1875 published a very worth while essay on this question,[31] wherein the false accounts of the order are set right. Also, what is said about the spread of the "Bridge Brothers" throughout Italy, Spain, Scotland, and other countries, is not at all true. The "Bridge Brothers" working in southern France have been confused with the brothers of St. James of Altopascio. Likewise, when it is said that the order of Bridge Brothers was suppressed by Pius II in 1459, the order is confounded with the com-

[29] G. Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege, 346, Freiburg, 1884.

[30] Kirchenlexikon, II, 1331. Kirchliches Handlexikon, I, 754. Herders Konversationslexikon, II, 395, usw.

[31] Bulletin monumental XLI, 225ff., Paris, 1875: Les constructeurs de ponts au moyen âge.

munity of Altopascio. It has been clearly established above that the contemplated suppression of the Hospitallers of Altopascio by Pius II was not carried out.

As for the "Bridge Brothers" of southern France, they formed in no way a genuine order. They were rather independent societies that the same need called into being in different places at the same time.[32] In the beginning they were not a religious order with vows; they were merely brotherhoods, corporations with a religious basis, such as were founded for so many purposes in the Middle Ages. Only in course of time did these brotherhoods develop into religious orders. It should be remarked also that the members of these societies never called themselves "fratres pontifices," bridge building brothers; nor did their contemporaries so designate them. They were called merely Brothers of the Bridge at Avignon, of the Bridge at Lyons, and so forth. The name "fratres pontifices" is first found among later authors.

The oldest French "Bridge Brothers" are those of Bonpas, who, so the story goes, had as early as 1084 built a bridge over the Durance in the place of that name (Department of Vaucluse).[33] In the course of the twelfth century they built still other bridges. At first the association bore a worldly character; later the members took vows

[32]Bruguier-Roure, 232: "Des confrèries qu'un même besoin fit surgir simultanément en plusieurs endroits." So also L. Lallemend, Histoire de la Charité, III, 125, Paris, 1906.

[33]Brouguier-Roure, 242ff.

and formed a religious community under a prior. After the example of Lucius III (1181-1185), whose document is lost, Clement III in 1189 took it under the apostolic protection and confirmed its possessions, especially the mother-house at Bonpas and the bridge belonging to it.[34] The bull is directed to the Prior Raymund and the brothers (Raimundo priori domus pontis Bonipassus ejusque fratribus). The brothers received a further bull of confirmation in 1197 from Celestine III.[35]

There is no mention of any indulgences in the papal documents; and we are not otherwise informed of indulgences received by the Brothers of Bonpas for their bridgebuilding. It is true that John XXII in the year 1316 granted an indulgence of one hundred days for contributions to a stone bridge over the Durance at Noves, the place where Petrarch's beloved Laura was born.[36] However, the building of this bridge was not undertaken by a religious order but by the municipality (quem homines castri Novarum aedificare cœperunt). The same is true of the bridge which was built with indulgence contributions over the Verdon—a tributary of the Durance—at Castellane in 1404.[37]

With the Brothers of Bonpas, who joined themselves in 1284 to the Hospitallers of St. John of

[34]W. Wiederhold, Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Beiheft zu den Göttinger Nachrichten, 161, 1907.

[35]Idem, 171.

[36]Lettres secrètes et curiales de Jean XXII relatives à la France, par A. Coulon, n. 104.

[37]E. Gauthey, Traité de la construction des ponts, I, 64, Liége, 1843.

Jerusalem, there must not be confused, as often happens, the Brothers of the Bridge at Avignon (fratres pontis Avinionensis), who formed a genuine community. As founder of this community —indeed as founder of the Bridge Brothers generally—St. Benezet (Provençal form of Benedict) is often named. When the life of this Saint is disentangled from legends, this much is certain—that in 1177 he began the building of a stone bridge over the Rhône at Avignon, and that this vast undertaking was nearly completed at the time of his death (1184.)[38] In the year 1188 the famous bridge, of which some arches remain even till today, was finished. As elsewhere, the builders of the bridge in Avignon formed a society, at whose head stood Benezet. A document of the year 1180 speaks of "Brother Benedict" as "Superintendent" of the bridge work; his colaborers are called "brothers."[39] They formed therefore a brotherhood. At that time they still belonged to the laity. But as early as the year 1187 John Benedict, the first successor of the Saint, appeared as "prior."[40] To that extent the lay union had in the meantime changed into a religious association.

No indulgences seem to have been given to those who contributed to the building of the bridge; but numerous grants were offered later. Since im-

[38]A. B. de Saint-Venant, Saint Benezet, Bourges, 1889. An industrious work, with valuable source materials, but uncritical. Compare with it the remarks of the Bollandist, A. Poncelet, in L'Université catholique, Nouvelle Série, Tome IV (1900) 296-302.

[39]Saint-Venant, 11.

[40]Idem, 16.

provements were often necessary, since the bridge was again partly destroyed by war, since, finally, the hospital connected with the bridge afforded shelter for numerous sick and travellers, the brothers had continually to call upon public charity. In order to further their collections, many popes and bishops granted indulgences to the benefactors of the work.

A catalogue of these indulgences that comes from the first half of the fourteenth century has already been published several times.[41] At the head of the indulgence-granting popes stands Innocent IV with an indulgence of one year and forty days.[42] Alexander IV, Urban IV, Clement IV, Nicholas IV,[43] and Boniface VIII granted the same indulgence, whereas Clement V is represented in the old list with an indulgence of only forty days. Added to this are twelve cardinals, each of whom granted an indulgence of forty days. It is related of the Bishop of Aix that, in union with the bishops of his province, he granted an indulgence of two hundred days. The same privilege was extended by the Archbishops of Arles, Embrun and Narbonne with their suffragans. All these indulgences were confirmed by John XXII (1316-1334). Just what this confirmation meant,[44] and whether all the indulgences

[41]For example, in Th. Raynaldus, Opera, VIII, 170, Lugduni, 1665; Saint-Venant, 84ff.

[42]This indulgence was granted in 1251. Saint-Venant, 54.

[43]On July 28, 1290. Les registres de Nicolas IV, n. 2990.

[44]It is highly improbable, since John XXII in 1323 explained to the King of France that the Holy See did not pledge itself to confirm episcopal indulgences. Lettres secrètes de Jean XXII, n. 1865.

specified in the catalogue, with other privileges, were actually granted must remain uncertain. At all events the catalogue contains sundry privileges that have scarcely any claim to be genuine.

Another catalogue of the papal indulgence briefs for the bridge and hospital work at Avignon, made by the board of directors in 1430, has very recently been published for the first time.[45] It is noteworthy that in this catalogue there is no reference to the above-mentioned indulgences. Even at that time the documents in the case were no longer available. The following popes were quoted: Martin IV with an indulgence of one year and forty days (March 28, 1281); Nicholas IV, likewise with one year and forty days (March 18, 1290). On December 21, 1343, Clement VI granted an indulgence of three years and three quarantines, besides a plenary indulgence at the hour of death. The bull, however, may have been falsified. An indulgence of one year and forty days was granted by Innocent VI (1353). Then comes a document of Urban V (1366), wherein the benefactors of the work are promised an indulgence of three years and three quarantines together with a remission of the seventh part of their penance for every alms that they give on Friday. Finally various other privileges were extended to them, which appear frequently in the episcopal documents of that time, but not in the papal ones.

[45] Ripert-Monclar, Bullaire des indulgences concédées avant 1431 à l'oeuvre du Pont d'Avignon par les Souverains Pontifes, Paris, 1912.

One could with equanimity place the bull among the forgeries; just as has been done with a document of 1371 wherein Gregory XI empowers the benefactors to apply to the dying all the indulgences granted for the work in Avignon. In 1430 all these documents were laid before Martin V for confirmation by the rector of the hospital. The confirmation bull was ready drawn when the pope died. His successor, Eugene IV, under date of March 11, 1431, confirmed all the indulgences granted by the popes for the support of the bridge and hospital. New confirmations followed under Calixtus III (August 23, 1455) and Pius II (January 20, 1458).[46] In addition Pius II on March 24, 1460, promised a plenary indulgence for several years.[47] A similar grant came from Sixtus IV.[48]

St. Benedict, the builder of the famous bridge in Avignon, also commenced the great bridge de la Guillotière in Lyons, and in large measure completed it. So it has often been asserted very recently,[49] and indeed on the ground of a bull which Innocent IV, in 1245, issued at Lyons during the general council that was held there.[50] But the bull referred to is merely the brothers' advertise-

[46]P. Pansier, Note sur une bulle de Calixte III accordant des indulgences à L'oeuvre du Pont d' Avignon, in Annales d' Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin, I (1912), 169-176.

[47]Pansier, 171. E. Göller, Der Ausbruch der Reformation und die spätmittelalterliche Ablasspraxis, 121, Freiburg, 1917.

[48]Pansier, 171ff.

[49]Especially by Saint-Venant, 29ff.

[50]First published in Analecta juris Pontificii, XIIe Série, 1135ff., Rome, 1873, then again and better by Saint-Venant (81ff.) with a facsimile of the ancient document.

ment of the bridge work at Lyons.[51] First it is related therein how the shepherd Benedict, scarcely twelve years old, received a commission from God to build a bridge over the Rhône at Avignon. Then we are told that he went to Rome to speak to the pope. On his return he heard that in Lyons many people were exposed to great danger in crossing the Rhône; therefore he went to that city in order to build a bridge similar to the one in Avignon, and in addition a hospital. When he died the work was in great part completed.[52]

For this bridge (prefato ponti), however, many indulgences were issued.[53] The indulgences obtained are then enumerated: The Pope (Dominus Papa, Innocent IV is meant) had granted an indulgence of one year and forty days; his predecessor, Gregory IX, forty days; the Archbishop of Lyons, forty days, besides various privileges; in addition, the Archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, Tours, Bordeaux, Rouen, Sens, Vienne and Arles with many of their suffragans granted indulgences, that altogether amounted to two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine days.

The document, which has no signature, bears

[51]Sanctissimis in Christo patribus Archiepiscopis, Episeopis . . . . "fratres pontem super Rodanum Dei revelatione inceptum peragentes, salutem." The Brothers of Lyons are meant, not, as Saint-Venant erroneously thinks, the Brothers of Avignon. The bridge in Avignon had been finished long before 1245.

[52]"Pontem simili modo cum quodam hospitali. . . . Incepit, et antequam moreretur, ex magna parte complevit."

[53]The reference is evidently to the indulgences for the bridge at Lyons, not that at Avignon, as Saint-Venant thinks (p. 29, 84). Certainly the words, "prefato ponti," show that there is question of the bridge mentioned immediately before, that is, the bridge in Lyons; and even the indulgence list itself shows that only the bridge at Lyons can be considered.

the following date: "Datum in concilio generali celebrato apud Lugdunum pontificatus domini Innocentii pape quarti anno secundo." Attached to the document hangs the seal of the Pope, Innocent IV. Both date and seal are evidently forgeries. The brothers of Lyons wished to invest their proclamation with greater respect. This, perhaps, first appeared after the death of Innocent IV, and was destined to encourage contributions. Or had Innocent IV actually allowed the Brothers to attach the papal seal?

What is further related in this document of the beginnings of the bridge at Lyons does not correspond with the historical facts as they are known from other reliable sources. To all appearances St. Benedict had nothing to do with the building of this bridge. Towards the end of the twelfth century there was in Lyons only a very poor bridge of wood, which, it appears, had been built in the eighties by a certain Brother Stephan. In a bull of the year 1184 or 1185—somewhat suspected, it is true—Pope Lucius III reports that the Brother Stephan had undertaken the building of a bridge over the Rhône; and in this bull the pope urges bishops and pastors to recommend this socially useful work to the charity of the faithful under promise of an indulgence.[54]

When in the year 1190 Philip Augustus of France and Richard the Lion Heart of England

[54] M. O. Guigue, Bibliothèque historique du Lyonnais, I, 129, Lyon, 1886. U. Chevalier, Regeste Dauphinois, n. 4918, Valence, 1912ff. Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Regesta, n. 15243. Loewenfeld notes the bull as a forgery, but without giving any reason.

undertook the Third Crusade, great armies marched through Lyons and caused the collapse of the all too weak bridge.[55] Collections were instituted to rebuild it. The agents of the bridge work went over to England. Richard the Lion Heart with his own hand recommended them to the charity of his subjects.[56]

The building of a stone bridge was first undertaken, apparently, under Innocent IV. This Pope lent the work such strong support that an old carved inscription on the bridge calls him the builder of the bridge.[57] Not only did he grant an indulgence of one year and forty days,[58] but he also, in the year 1247, took the Brothers of the Bridge under the apostolic protection,[59] and in 1254 requested the bishops to authorize the agents of the work to take up collections and to announce to the faithful the attached indulgences.[60] In the beginning only one pier and the first arch were built of stone.[61] A century was to pass before the difficult undertaking should be brought to a happy

[55]C. F. Menestrier, Histoire civile de la ville de Lyon, 283, Lyon, 1696.

[56]Menestrier, Preuves, S. XXXI. The king recommended "fratres et nuntios de Ponte qui est Lugduni constitutus." As in so many other places, so accordingly in Lyons, the bridge-building was carried out by a religious society. In the year 1334 the city council first took over the temporal administration of the work. Menestrier, XXXIIIf.

[57]Menestrier, 283. J. B. Monfalcon, Lugdunensis historiae Monumenta. Supplément, p. XXV, Lugduni, 1860.

[58]Mentioned in the inscription and in the above referred to proclamation of the bridge brothers.

[59]Les registres d'Innocent IV, n. 2607.

[60]Chevalier, Regeste Dauphinois, n. 9059. Monfalcon (406) and Potthast (Regesta, n. 3799) erroneously attribute it to Innocent III.

[61]Monfalcon, 398.

conclusion. Like Innocent IV, later popes, as Urban IV, Clement VII, Alexander V, Eugene IV, Leo X, sought to advance the work.[62] Likewise, under Alexander V, in the year 1410, a papal legate granted an indulgence for the building of the bridge in Lyons.[63]

Besides the bridge de la Guillotière at Lyons, the "Bridge Brothers" are said to have built another wider bridge over the Rhône, the so-called Holy Ghost bridge.[64] But the latter bridge is a great distance from Lyons; moreover, it was not built by the "Bridge Brothers." Pont-Saint-Esprit, a town in the Department Gard, today belonging to the diocese of Nîmes, was formerly called Saint-Saturnin du Port. The inhabitants of this town began the construction of a bridge across the Rhône in 1265.[65] The laborers formed a corporation or brotherhood, as happened at the building of the bridge at Avignon. After the work had been finished, in 1307, and the skilled laborers had departed, the Holy Ghost Brotherhood continued to exist as a religious congregation. Its members cared for the upkeep of the bridge and devoted themselves to the sick and to poor travellers in the associated hospital.

As the popes had granted indulgences for the construction of the great bridge, that has endured

[62]Monfalcon, 399. Chevalier, n. 10053 (Urban IV).
[63]Menestrier, 284.
[64]So Leger in Ersch und Grubers Allgemeine Enzyklopädie, XIII (1824), 149; J. Becker in Archiv für Frankfurter Geschichte, 18, 1869; and the anonymous author of an article on the "Bridge Brothers" in the Vienna newspaper, "Die Presse," Nr. 351, Dez. 20, 1893.
[65]Bruguier-Roure in Bulletin monumental, XLI, 436ff.

till our own time,[66] so they later favored the upkeep of the bridge with indulgence privileges. Thus in 1319 John XXII granted an indulgence of forty days for this work.[67]

As Avignon, Lyons, and Pont-Saint-Esprit, so also Vienne possessed a great bridge across the Rhône,[68] that in the first decade of the fourteenth century had to be rebuilt. In 1321 John XXII granted, for the space of two years, an indulgence of sixty days in favor of the rebuilding.[69] In the introduction of the indulgence bull the pope explained that among the God-pleasing and meritorious works of piety he ranked bridgebuilding as not the least, since commerce was thereby facilitated and the safety of travellers cared for. He therefore looked upon it as a duty of the apostolic office to reward the promoters of so useful a work.

The most important tributary of the Rhône, on the left bank, next to the Durance, is the Isère. When in the year 1219 a frightful flood, called the "Deluge of Grenoble," destroyed the Isère bridge in the latter city, the Bishop, John, issued an appeal to the faithful to encourage them to charitable contributions for a new bridge. Relying on the mercy of God and the merits of the

[66]Recent information on these indulgences will be found in Bruguier-Roure, Chronique et cartulaire de l'oeuvre des église, maison, pont et hôpitaux du Saint-Esprit. Nîmes, 1889-95. Unfortunately I did not have access to this work that is no longer in the French book stores.

[67]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 9725.

[68]Consult on this Bruguier-Roure, Bulletin monumental, XLI, 436ff.

[69]Gallia Christiana, XVI, Instrumenta 65, Parisiis, 1865.

saintly Bishop Hugo (died 1132), the first builder of the bridge (qui primitius pontem nostrum instituit), he remitted to all who helped the Bridge Brotherhood (confratriae nostri pontis) the fourth part of the penance imposed for properly confessed sins; in addition he gave an indulgence for all venial and forgotten sins.[70]

Another tributary of the Rhône on the left bank is the Lez, over which at Bollène, northwest of Orange, was a bridge much used by pilgrims. In 1426 the administrator of the diocese of Saint-Paul-Trois-Chateaux, to which Bollène (Abolene) belonged, granted an indulgence of forty days for contributions to the restoration of this bridge. The same indulgence was granted in 1449 and 1459 for money contributions as well as for personal service by the Cardinal Legate, Pierre de Foix.[71]

On the right side of the Rhône the Dominicans had built a bridge over the Gardon at Alais. Clement V in 1308 issued in its favor an indulgence of one hundred days.[72]

In France the valley of the Rhône certainly shows that most of the bridges were built with the help of money given for indulgences; but there are also in other French provinces many bridges whose construction was zealously advanced by popes and bishops. Thus in the year

[70]Idem, 92ff. Chevalier, Regeste Dauphinois, n. 6508.

[71]Albanès-Chevalier, Gallia Christiana novissima, IV, 243, 269, 281, Valence, 1909.

[72]H. Grange, Sommaire des lettres pontificales concernant le Gard, émanant des Papes d'Avignon du XIVe siècle, I, 18, Nîmes, 1911.

1222 the Bishop of Rodez besought his subjects to assist in building at Cajarc a bridge, then under construction over the Lot, a tributary of the Garonne. A similar appeal was issued in 1269 by the Archbishop of Bourges for another bridge which crossed the Lot at Entraygues. In the short communications that prefaced both episcopal documents,[73] there is, indeed, no mention of any indulgence; yet one may very well conclude that according to the custom of the time indulgences were promised in both cases. When in the year 1339 a bridge was to be built at Rodez over the Aveyron, another tributary of the Garonne, the bishop of that city promised an indulgence to all those who would personally share in the work.[74]

In the year 1305 Clement V issued an indulgence of one year and forty days for a bridge at Larunde in the diocese of Bordeaux.[75] Since in that region there is no river, it must have referred to a little bridge over a brook or canal.

For a bridge over the Lez at Montpellier Clement V in 1267 gave an indulgence of forty days.[76]

If we turn to the north, along the Loire, we find a bridge in Nevers for whose rebuilding Clement V in 1306 issued an indulgence of one hundred days.[77] In the year 1375 Gregory XI granted

[73]A. de Gaujal, Études historiques sur le Rouergues, II, 97, 122, Paris, 1858.
[74]Idem, 177.
[75]Regestum Clementis V, n. 1448.
[76]Martène, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, II, 461, Parisiis, 1717.
[77]Regestum Clementis V, n. 910, 6016.

an indulgence for a bridge which crossed the Creuse, a tributary of the Loire, at St. Gaultier (Department Indre).[78]

From Spain we can cite only one bridge indulgence. It consisted of twenty days and was granted by Honorius III in 1222 for a bridge across the Tayo at Talavera.[79] As it was said in the papal document, the Christians through this bridge would have the power of more quickly bringing help to their brethren on the other side of the Tayo if they were attacked by the Moors.

The sources for Germany are richer. The oldest bridge indulgences are found in the province of Donau. In the year 1220 Kaiser Friedrich II issued the command to replace the wooden bridge in Donauwörth with a stone one. In order to get the means for this purpose, collections had to be instituted. The Kaiser took the alms-gatherers under his protection and commended them to the good will of his subjects.[80] The Church, also, sought to further the useful public work. In the year 1229 Bishop Heinrich of Eichstätt granted an indulgence of thirty days for either labor or a monetary contribution.[81]

Some years later, February 23, 1236, Bishop Rudiger of Passau granted an indulgence of fif-

[78]Denifle, La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en france pendant la guerre de cent ans, II, 430, Paris, 1899.
[79]P. Pressutti, Regesta Honorii III, n. 6182, Romae, 1888-95.
[80]Monumenta boica, XVI, 34, Monachii, 1795.
[81]C. Königsdorfer, Geschichte des Klosters zum Heiligen Kreuz in donauwörth, I, 77, Donauwörth, 1819. M. Lefflad, Regesten der Bischöfe von Eichstätt, II, 2, Eichstätt, 1874.

teen days for contributions to a bridge over the Traun in Wels.[82]

On the right side of the Rhine more bridges can be named for which indulgences were granted, and first of all the Neckar bridge in Esslingen. In order to help in the upkeep of this bridge, several foreign bishops in 1286, who were in Rome at the time, issued a joint document encouraging the faithful to charitable contributions for this "very pious work" under promise of an indulgence of forty days.[83]

It is "noteworthy" that foreign bishops should grant an indulgence for a German undertaking. Yet there is nothing extraordinary in this. In almost every German record book there are documents in which several foreign bishops, with the consent of the local bishops, grant an indulgence of forty days for some good work. These joint indulgence briefs were prized especially highly because it was therein explained that each one of the undersigned bishops granted an indulgence of forty days. The greater the number of signers, the more valuable was the indulgence brief. Such indulgences, therefore, were sought especially in

[82]Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns, III, 37f., Wien, 1862. As early as the year 1128 the Bishops of Salzburg, Würzburg, Freissing, Bamberg, Ratisbon, and Passau, had granted an indulgence of forty days for the Wels bridge. However, there is question here of a later forgery. Certainly fictitious, also, is the indulgence of fifty days for mortal sins and fifty days for venial sins granted for the same purpose by Pope Alexander in 1138. Cf. J. Lahusen, Zum Welser Brückenprivileg, in Mitteilungen für österrreichishce Geschichtsforschung, XXXI (1910), 361-74.

[83]A. Diehl, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Esslingen, I, 77f., Stuttgart, 1899 (Württemb. Geschichtsquellen, IV).

those places where many bishops congregated. Most of these documents are dated from Rome or Avignon, because a number of bishops were usually to be found at the papal court.

One of these joint indulgence briefs was issued at Rome in 1300 by fifteen bishops[84] for the Main bridge at Frankfurt.

But from Avignon is dated the indulgence brief that in 1360 fifteen bishops signed for the Lahn bridge in Dietz. When Archbishop Cuno of Trier in 1365 confirmed this indulgence, which consisted of forty days and was available for contributions in money and building material as well as for personal service, he himself added another indulgence of forty days. The author to whom we owe this information remarks that the Lahn bridge threatened to collapse. "Foreign help was necessary because of the lack of local means for such an expensive bridgebuilding." For this reason Count Gerhard of Dietz sought to obtain an indulgence.[85]

On the left side of the Rhine, in Maastrict, the great wooden Maas bridge broke down in 1275 as a procession was passing over it. More than four hundred people lost their lives. Six years later the rebuilding in stone was commenced. For the completion of the bridge four archbishops and fifteen bishops in 1284 at Orvieto, where the Curia

[84] J. Fr. Boehmer-Fr. Lau, Urkundenbuch der Reichsstadt Frankfurt, I, 388f., Frankfurt, 1901.

[85] J. Arnoldi, Miscellaneen aus der Diplomatik und Geschichte, 37ff., Marburg, 1798.

was then held, each granted an indulgence of forty days.[86]

Since the year 1216 there had existed a canon limiting the indulgence that bishops might grant, apart from the consecration of a church, to forty days. As head of the Church, however, the pope had authority to overstep these limits. Thus Martin V in 1246 issued an indulgence of two years and two quarantines for the building of a stone bridge over the Nahe at Sobernheim.[87] As was remarked in the papal document, the inhabitants of Sobernheim had petitioned the Holy Father to encourage the building of the bridge—the cost of which they could not defray alone—since often in the past, in their province, persons had lost their lives in crossing the Nahe. The pope readily granted this request. His pastoral office, he explained, placed on him the duty of helping the faithful in their needs and anxieties. Since he looked upon assistance to the building of bridges as a pious, God-pleasing, and meritorious work by which manifold dangers and injuries would be prevented and the general good furthered, he often urged the faithful to undertake such works, and sought to encourage their generosity by the promise of spiritual graces, especially of indulgences.

With the same words begins the indulgence brief of Clement VI, dated August 1, 1343, in favor of the Mosel bridge in Coblenz, which Arch-

[86]Messager des sciences historiques, 383ff., Gand, 1848.
[87]J. C. Fuchs, Oratio de dioecesi Beckelnhemensi, 22f., Biponti, 1732.

bishop Baldwin of Trier then had in view.[88] This bridge, "a creation that now has endured five hundred years and served the neighborhood as an ornament, and especially for unending usefulness," was at all events the most beautiful monument that the Archbishop made for himself.[89] The pope granted to the benefactors of the work an indulgence of one year and forty days, which held good until the bridge should be completed.

Two months later a number of archbishops and bishops who tarried in Avignon issued an indulgence of forty days for the same bridge. In the accompanying document the faithful are urged to contribute to such a praiseworthy and useful public work (ad tam laudabile opus fundandum pro totius communitatis ac Christi fidelium transeuntium commodo ac pro re publica) out of Christian charity (caritatis intuitu).[90]

Archbishop Baldwin published both these indulgences in 1344 and took this opportunity to renew the indulgence which he himself had granted in 1343 in favor of the new bridge.[91] Further indulgences for the Mosel bridge were granted by Pope Urban V (1363),[92] the Archbishop Boemond II in 1356, and Archbishop Werner in 1390

[88]W. Günther, Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus, III, 458, Coblenz, 1825. H. V. Sauerland, Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv, III, 82, Bonn, 1905.

[89]A. Dominikus, Baldewin von Lützelburg, Erzbischof und Kurfürst von Trier, 515f., Coblenz, 1862.

[90]Hontheim, Historia Trevirensis diplomatica et pragmatica, II, 155, Uag. Vind., 1750.

[91]A. Goerz, Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Trier, 84f., Trier, 1861.

[92]Sauerland, V, 39.

and 1409.[93] From the last named document[94] it is evident that at that time the bridge was not yet completed. Later the archbishops of Trier granted additional indulgences for the bridge in Coblenz, for example Archbishop Otto in 1422 and 1424, and Archbishop James I in 1440.[95]

Leo X on January 13, 1515, granted for twenty years the rich indulgences of the Johanniter order to a brotherhood of Trier whose duty it was to improve the neglected roads and bridges of the archdiocese for the use of pilgrims and merchants; and allowed the indulgences, with the permission of the suffragan bishops, to be announced in the ecclesiastical provinces of Trier and Mainz.[96]

Boniface IX in 1391 granted an indulgence of three years and three quarantines in favor of a bridge crossing the Weser at Hameln.[97]

Bishop Withego of Meissen, as early as 1275, granted indulgences for the rebuilding of the great Elbe bridge in Dresden.[98] In the year 1319 thirteen bishops in Avignon granted an indulgence of forty days. Referring to the admonition of the Apostle that the faithful should support one an-

[93]Goerz, 92, 121, 133.

[94]Printed by Günther, IV, 130ff.

[95]Goerz, 150, 153, 174. According to an undated poster, the total sum of the indulgences amounted to 9743 days. Günther, III, 459.

[96]Regesta Leonis X, n. 13671. Schulte, Die Fugger, I, 86. St. Beissel, Geschichte der Trierer Kirchen, II, 145, Trier, 1889.

[97]Urkundenbuch des Stiftes und der Stadt Hameln, I, 488f., Hanover, 1887 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, II).

[98]Urkundenbuch der Städte Dresden und Pirna, 2, Leipzig, 1875 (Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae, II, 5).

other, the bishops explain in their document that they gladly recommend and further socially useful works by which all sorts of misfortunes are averted. Bishop John of Meissen confirmed the indulgence granted by foreign bishops and on his part added an indulgence of forty days and a quarantine (that is, a further indulgence of forty days).[99]

It has often been asserted that Elector Frederick the Wise, through indulgence money, built another Elbe bridge in Torgau whose cornerstone was laid in 1491. But no indulgence was granted for the building of the Torgau bridge, only a dispensation from the strict fast which forbade the use of the so-called lacticinia, that is butter and milk. Such dispensations, which were called "Butter-briefs," were frequently granted in Germany towards the end of the Middle Ages. Besides the chancery fee for defraying the fixed expenses of issuing the order, usually an additional contribution (composition) had to be given toward some ecclesiastical or useful public work. So it was with the "Butter-briefs" of Saxony. Elector Frederick the Wise, who wished to build a bridge and a chapel in Torgau but did not have the necessary means therefor, turned to Rome for assistance. Pope Innocent VIII granted the request under date of July 28, 1490, in that he allowed the subjects of the Elector for the space

[99] Urkundenbuch von Dresden, 27f. C. Schramm, Historischer Schauplatz, in welchem die merkwürdigsten Brücken. . . . beschrieben werden. Leipzig, 1735. Urkunden, 4ff. F. Dibelius, Die alte Elbbrücke in Dresden, in den Beiträgen zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte, VI (1890), 114f.

of twenty years to use butter and milk foods on the condition that each one who took advantage of this indult should give the twentieth part of a Rhenish gulden towards the building of the bridge in Torgau. Count Albrecht of Saxony received an exactly similar privilege in 1491 for the rebuilding of the burnt parish church in Freiburg.[100]

While the bridge indulgences played no part in the Torgau undertaking, we meet them again in the city of Leipzig, whose environs even today are frequently flooded by the many branched rivers Elster, Pleisse and Parthe. In order to lessen the danger of the high waters, the magistrate had in 1430 undertaken extensive measures for building canals, dams and bridges.[101] Here, too, must the Church help. Since the city could not meet the great cost, messengers were sent out to collect contributions. In a document of the year 1434, Bishop John of Merseburg admonished his clergy to aid the alms-gatherers according to their power; in addition he granted an indulgence of forty days and a quarantine for charitable contributions. God's will, he declares, places upon him the duty, not only of bearing the cares of the Church, but also of furthering the building of roads and bridges whereby poor pilgrims and others, who travel here and there for the com-

[100]Chronicon Torgaviae bei J. B. Menckenius, Scriptores rerum germanicorum, II, 571ff., Lipsiae, 1728. Schramm, Schauplatz. Urkunden, 62ff. H. Ermisch, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiberg, I (Codex diplom. Sax. Reg., II, 12), 562ff., Leipzig, 1883.

[101]"Magnum et sumptuosum ædificium inceperunt ad faciendum passagia, pontes et fossata," says the Bishop of Merseburg in his indulgence brief.

mon good, may suffer no misfortune on the way. Since now so many merchants and pilgrims frequent Leipzig and often encounter dangerous floods, he prayed the faithful to lend a helping hand to the useful public works undertaken by the city.[102]

In the year 1461 Pius II granted to the city of Breslau a plenary indulgence, the returns from which were to be applied partly to the municipal hospitals, partly for the bridges, streets, and fortifications.[103] A year previous, at the request of the Breslau city council, the Papal Legate, Hieronymus Lando, had issued an indulgence of forty days for a bridge near the city, to which indulgence the Bishop of Breslau had added another forty days.[104]

The same Legate in 1463 granted an indulgence of one year and forty days for a bridge over the Oder at Glogau in Silesia.[105]

By instruction of the local archbishop, indulgences were published about the middle of the fourteenth century for a bridge in Prague.[106]

Indulgences for bridgebuilding, to judge from contemporary sources, seem likewise to have been granted very frequently in England. A great

[102]K. v. Posern-Klett, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Leipzig, I, 124ff. (Codex diplom. Sax. Reg., II, 8).

[103]Scriptores rerum silesiacarum, VIII, 55, 60.

[104]Idem, 37f.

[105]The indulgence brief has been printed by F. Minsberg, Geschichte der Stadt und Festung Gross-Glogau, I, 440f., Glogau, 1853.

[106]Formelbuch des ersten Prager Erzbischofs Arnest von Pardubic, hrsg. von F. Tadra im Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, LXI (1880), 395.

number of such indulgences are recorded in the acts of Archbishop Walter Gray of York (1215-55). The published acts begin with the year 1225. Immediately under the first official business of this year is the grant of an indulgence of ten days for the Elvet bridge in Durham. Then follow similar grants: in 1228, thirteen days' indulgence for the Otley bridge in the county York, ten days for an embankment in Podesmed; in 1230, ten days for the high road between Beverley and Bentley, thirteen days for the Hoybel bridge in Nottingham; in 1233, ten days for a bridge in Wetherby.[107] The contributions for the building of roads and bridges were ranked by the English churchman among the "works of mercy," on a par with the charitable alms for churches and hospitals, which Archbishop Gray likewise frequently remembered with indulgences.

From 1279 to 1285 William Wickwane held the archbishopric of York. Also in his acts bridge-indulgences are frequently mentioned. Thus in 1279 he granted an indulgence of forty days for two bridges at Doncaster, another of twenty days for a bridge and dam in Mattersey.[108] His successor, John Romanus (1286-95), issued indulgences of twenty days for bridges in Stamford and Gloucester.[109]

Still more plentifully did Richard Kellawe,

[107]The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray, 4, 20, 24, 39, 42, 60, Durham, 1872 (Publications of the Surtees Society, LVI).

[108]The Register of William Wickwane, 21, 300, Durham, 1907 (Surtees Society, CXIV).

[109]The Register of John le Romeyn, I, 7f., 10, Durham, 1913 (Surtees Society, CXXIII).

Bishop of Durham from 1311 to 1316, distribute such privileges: in 1313, an indulgence of forty days for the Whytton bridge in Weredale; in 1314, likewise one of forty days for contributions or personal service for the improvement of a much used road between Brotherton and Ferribridge; in the same year forty days for the Were bridge at Auckland, which some men, moved by God (auctore Domino), had begun for the common use, but which they could not finish without foreign aid; besides, forty days for a bridge in Botyton, and again forty days for a bridge and road between Billingham and Noston; and in 1316, forty days for a bridge in Carleton and Hatley.[110]

The popes, also, granted numerous bridge indulgences for England. Urban V, 1364, for North Stoneham (diocese of Winchester);[111] Clement VII, 1384, for Cowal (diocese of Argyle);[112] Boniface IX, 1391, for Islepe (diocese of Lincoln) and Schelfrod (diocese of Ely);[113] in 1400 for Toryton (diocese of Exeter), Kerdington (diocese of Lincoln), and Bradeforde (diocese of Salisbury);[114] in 1401 for Stracerton (diocese of Salisbury) and Corbrig (diocese of Durham);[115] in 1402 for Fordynbrygghe (diocese of Win-

[110]Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard Kellawe, I, 442, 507, 525, 615, 642; II, 780, London, 1873-74 (Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi Scriptores, LXII).

[111]Bliss-Twemlow, Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, IV, 48, London, 1902.

[112]Idem, 249.

[113]Idem, 399, 406.

[114]Papal Letters V (1904), 272, 317, 339.

[115]Idem, 379, 408.

chester);[116] Innocent VII, 1405, for a bridge which a priest of the diocese of Lichfield wished to build;[117] Martin V, 1420, for a bridge which the pastor at Liston in the diocese of St. Andrew's intended to build; 1427 for Melrose (diocese of Glasgow), Teynburghe (diocese of Exeter), for a bridge and road at Boston (diocese of Lincoln); 1429 for Whitby (diocese of York);[118] Eugene IV for Dumfries (diocese of Glasgow); 1437 for a road and bridge at Winnebornminster (diocese of Salisbury); in 1440 for a bridge which the pastor had begun to build from his own resources at Dunkeld (diocese of Exeter); and in 1445 for Newport (diocese of St. David's).[119]

[116]Papal Letters, IV, 351.
[117]Twemlow, Papal Letters, VI (1904), 54.
[118]Twemlow, VII (1906), 152, 522, 524; VIII (1909), 23, 167.
[119]Twemlow, VIII, 347, 658; IX (1912), 110, 248, 486.

2. DAMS AND ROADS. HARBORS AND FORTIFICATIONS

COLONIZATION PROJECTS

NEXT to the bridge indulgences stand those for dams, embankments, and roads. Even Albert the Great has enumerated the improvement of roads (reparatio viarum communium) among the works pleasing to God for which indulgences might be granted.[1] Grants for such objects have already frequently been mentioned in connection with the indulgences for bridges. But still more can be mentioned, coming as well from popes as from bishops.

Siegfried of Hildesheim (1281) promised an indulgence of forty days for contributions for the improvement of the "long dam" at Vechelde.[2] The grant of the indulgence declares that it is a work of mercy to improve dangerous roads. John XXII in 1328 granted an indulgence of sixty days for the rebuilding of a "long dam" belonging to a monastery in Stavoren in the diocese of Utrecht.[3] In 1401 Boniface IX granted an indulgence of

[1]Opera omnia, XX, 643, Parisiis, 1893.

[2]Urkundenbuch der stadt Braunschweig, II, 139, Braunschweig, 1900. In the Latin document the word used is "pons longus." But that it does not mean a bridge, but an embankment, is clear from the added remark: "Aflat to dem Damme." In the North by "bridge" they understand not only what we do by that word, but in general a road built over marshy ground. Cf. Historisches Jarhbuch 1898, 302.

[3]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 40181. G. Brom, Bullarium Trajectense, I, 327, Haga-Comitis, 1891. In the papal document it is called: "for the repairing of a certain great and very long bridge." This evidently means an embankment. The monastery stood on the shore of the sea.

seven years and seven quarantines for the improvement of the King's highway which ran from Gloucester to London, and a further indulgence of seven years for a road near York.[4] Martin V, in 1419, issued indulgences for an embankment in the diocese of St. David's, and in 1425 for a road near York.[5] For the rebuilding of the destroyed dikes in the Netherlands, Leo X in 1515 at the solicitation of the Archduke Charles, later the emperor, granted a plenary indulgence, which might be preached during three years.[6] In the year 1503 the Papal Legate, Cardinal Raymund Peraudi, promised an indulgence of one hundred days to those who would contribute to the building and upkeep of various roads in the duchy of Brunswick.[7]

In the year 1306 the council of Stralsund determined to erect a lighthouse at a dangerous place of the sound. "However, because there was so much of this building and a whole bulwark had to be erected there (the southern point of the island of Hiddensee), Bishop Olaf of Roskilde announced an indulgence for all who would make a contribution to the work."[8]

For the building of a harbor in Reval the local

[4]Bliss-Twemlow, V, 390f., 398.

[5]Twemlow, VII, 115, 470.

[6]G. Brom, De Dijk-Aflaat vor Karel V in Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, XXXII, 407-59, Amsterdam, 1911.

[7]Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte XVI (1880), 533.

[8]A. G. Schwartz, Kurtze Einleitung zur Geographie des Norder-Teutschlandes, 138, Greifswald, 1745. C. G. Fabricius, Urkunden zur Geschichte des Fürstenthums Rügen unter den eingeborenen Fürsten, IV, 1, 51f., Berlin, 1859.

Bishop, Olaus, in the year 1336 issued an indulgence of forty days, and at the same time confirmed the indulgence which Bishop Englebert of Dorpat had granted for the same purpose.[9]

For the erection of a breakwater in the harbor of Naples, Boniface VIII (1302) granted an indulgence of one hundred days, which could be gained either through personal labor or through a monetary contribution.[10] An indulgence of ten days, which likewise could be gained either by personal work or money, was granted by John XXII (1317) for an embankment which the city of Aquileja was building as protection against floods.[11]

Indulgences were also granted for the building of fortifications. Thus in the year 1241 a "great wall" was to be built in Lübeck, "dar wart aflat to gegeben; des drogen dar to vrowen unde man, rike und arm."[12] For Breslau, at the solicitation of the magistrates, Pius II in 1461 granted a plenary indulgence, part of whose proceeds were to be devoted to the city's fortifications.[13] In the year 1430, when Leipzig was threatened by the Hussites, the Bishop of Merseburg at the request of the city council issued an indulgence of forty days to all those who on Sundays and holy days would help in the building of the fortifications.[14]

[9] Livländisches Urkundenbuch, II, 307, Reval, 1855.
[10] Les Registres de Boniface VIII, n. 4719.
[11] Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 5649.
[12] Chroniken der deutschen Städte, XIX, 88.
[13] Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum VIII, 55, 60, 152, 192, Breslau, 1873.
[14] Urkundenbuch der Städt Leipzig, I, 116f. (Codex diplom. Sax. Reg., II, 9).

Especially in the border lands where there was a question of protecting the Christian people against the inroads of infidels, indulgences were often granted in favor of fortifications, both for monetary contributions and for personal service. Such indulgences were given by Honorius III (1222) for a fort of the Templars,[15] by Gregory IX (1233) and Innocent IV (1245) for Prussia,[16] by Clement V (1308) for Famagusta on the Island of Cyprus,[17] by Clement VI (1349) for Litauen,[18] by John XXII (1317) for Spain,[19] by Clement VII (1390) for Smyrna,[20] by Nicholas V (1452, 1453) for Ceuta[21] and Medina,[22] by Sixtus IV (1481) for Vienna,[23] by Leo X (1519) for Kiev.[24]

From Leo X comes another fortification indulgence that, however, did not have the protection of Christendom in view. In the war that broke out in 1513 between England and Scotland, the fortified town of Norham, which belonged to the Bishop of Durham, was stormed and destroyed by the Scots. In 1514 the English sought in

[15]Regesta Honorii III, n. 4098. Bliss, Papal Letters, I, 88.
[16]Preussisches Urkundenbuch, I, 1, 73f., 123, Königsberg, 1882.
[17]Raynaldus, Annales eccl., 1308, n. 38.
[18]Bliss, Papal Letters, III, 331.
[19]Lettres communes de Jean XXII, n. 4559.
[20]J. Bosio, Dell 'Istoria della sacra Religione di. S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano, II, 139, Roma, 1629.
[21]Fr. Kayser, Papast Nikolaus V und die Maurenkämpfe der Spanier und Portugiesen, im Histor. Jahrbuch, VIII (1887), 625.
[22]Raynauldus, 1453, n. 18.
[23]Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien, II, 3269, Wien, 1904.
[24]Schulte, Die Fugger in Rome, I, 66.

Rome a plenary indulgence for the rebuilding of this border fortress. Leo X knew well that the granting of an indulgence for such an object was something "rare and unusual" (res rara et insolita). But since King Henry VIII himself asked it, the Pope thought himself bound to grant the English request.[25]

Greater justification had the indulgence which the Papal Legate, Eudes of Châteauroux, granted in 1252, during the time of the Crusades when there was question of strengthening Jaffa and other cities against the attacks of the Saracens.[26] The King of France, St. Louis IX, who was then in Palestine, shared personally in the work; laden with a hamper, he carried stones and mortar "in order to gain the indulgence," as his companion and biographer, the Sire de Joinville, relates.[27]

Previously, when Louis IX and the Crusaders were still in Egypt, the Papal Legate had granted an indulgence of one year to all those who would help in filling up the arm of a canal. Also at this time the King set a good example and carried earth in his mantle.[28]

[25]Regesta Leonis X, n. 6684, 7745, 13959. J. S. Brewer, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, I, n. 4284, 4461, 4724, 4735; II, n. 108, 109, 110, London, 1862-64.

[26]Also Innocent IV in 1253 granted an indulgence in favor of fortifying Jaffa. Berger, Les registres d'Innocent IV, n. 6463.

[27]J. de Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis, édition Wailly, 284, Paris, 1874. "Le roy meismes y vis-je mainte foiz porter la hote aus fossés, pour avoir le pardon." Cf. Vie de S. Louis écrite par le confesseur de la reine Marguerite. Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules, XX, 103.

[28]Bouquet, XX, 103: "Le roy portait en giron de sa chape la terre à cel lieu."

So much did this equally enlightened and pious King prize the indulgences of the Church! And this high appreciation Louis IX sought to instill into his children. In the Christian admonitions which shortly before his death he addressed to his son Philip, he urged the heir apparent to seek often to gain indulgences.[29] A similar admonition he directed to his daughter Isabella, Queen of Navarre.[30]

Finally, we must recall the indulgences that were granted for colonization projects.

When in 1229 King James I of Aragon succeeded in capturing the Island of Majorca, which since 798 had been in the possession of the Moors, Gregory IX shortly afterwards (1230) granted to all those who would settle there the same plenary indulgence that could be gained by taking part in a Crusade to the Holy Land. In stating his reason for this indulgence, the Pope declared that it was not sufficient to conquer foreign lands, it was necessary to colonize them.[31]

In the year 1253 Innocent IV authorized the Bishop of Aleria on the Island of Corsica to grant to those who would settle in the depopulated city the indulgence that he would find profitable for their salvation.[32] The determination of the

[29]"Pourchaces volontiers les pardons." H. Fr. Delaborde, Le texte primitif des Enseignements de S. Louis à son fils, in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXIII (1912), 241, 257.

[30]Idem, 250.

[31]Auvray, Les registres de Grégoire IX, n. 524. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Roman., n. 8641.

[32]Berger, Les registres d'Innocent IV, n. 6335. Potthast, n. 14888.

amount of the indulgence was left to the bishop.

Alexander VI in 1493 granted a plenary indulgence to those who, with the permission of the Spanish King, would settle in America.[33]

[33]Raynaldus, Annales eccl., 1493, n. 25.

3. GUILDS. MARKSMEN CLUBS

SINCE in the Middle Ages the civil and the ecclesiastical were closely bound together, the guilds stand out with special distinctness. "From the union of labor with religion and the Church, every guild received the character of a religious corporation. Each one had its special patron saints, who according to legend or history had once belonged to the same guild or had been connected with it in some way, and whose feast-day was ushered in with church-going and solemn processions. Moreover, each one made contributions to ecclesiastical and charitable objects, stood in close relationship to some special church, and had therein its own pictures and its own altar, not rarely even its own chapel. . . . At certain regular times they had Mass read for the living and the dead."[1]

No wonder, then, that the guilds, like the purely religious brotherhoods, received indulgences from bishops and popes. So, for example, Sixtus IV (1471-84) in confirming the guild or brotherhood of merchants founded in 1466 at Rostock granted to the members the privilege of gaining a plenary indulgence from their confessor once during their lives and again at the hour of death. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Cardinal Legate, Raimund Peraudi, approved

[1]Janssen, I, 406.

the Brotherhood anew and on this occasion granted to the members an indulgence of one hundred days as often as they accompanied the body of a dead member to the grave or lent a helping hand for the support of the brotherhood.[2]

It may seem strange that even the marksmen societies were granted indulgences. But considering these societies more closely, one will not be surprised that they were favored by the Church. In the Middle Ages the marksmen clubs, found in almost every city, formed as it were the nucleus of the civil protection and defense.[3]

We can readily understand, therefore, that not only the temporal but also the ecclesiastical authorities should, according to their power, seek to further these very useful organizations. Certainly the marksmen clubs had the duty of protecting the Church also and the religious institutions against hostile attack. Hence it comes that these organizations always had a religious character.

"Without exception," writes a Protestant minister, every marksmen's brotherhood had its special relation to the Church. Their own altars with vicars were often erected and endowed in

[2]Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte, VII, 192, Schwerin, 1842.

[3]E. Jacobs, Die Schützenkleinodien und das Papageienschiessen. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, w. f., Wernigerode, 1887. L. A. Delaunay, Etude sur les anciennes compagnies d'archers, d'arbalétriers et d'arquebusiers, 3, Paris, 1879: "Au moyen âge, le véritable élément de force, de sécurité et de liberté pour la plupart des villes résidait dans les associations bourgeoises connues sous le nom d'arbalétriers ou d'arquebusiers. Elles étaient la base de la puissance et de l'independence du pouvoir communal."

the local church. On appointed days the whole brotherhood appeared at Mass, if services were held for the departed souls of former members or even for the brotherhood itself."[4] The medieval marksmen's societies, remarks another Protestant author, "according to different sources were very pious."[5] "They were the chief upholders of the Romish Church."[6] Who, then will wonder that these "pious" organizations were favored with indulgences?

In an old account "Of the Origin of the Praiseworthy Brotherhood and Marksmen's Club of the City of Leipzig, and What the Same Hold for Regulation and Custom," it is related that in the year 1445 the Bishop of Merseburg at the ratification of the Brotherhood granted to the members an indulgence of forty days.[7]

Not without reason were the Shooting Brothers of Leipzig favored by their ordinary. In the year 1482, "moved by ardent love and eager desire to increase the praise and service of God," they founded with five hundred Rhenish guldens in the

[4]A. Reinecke, Die Schützenbrüderschaft zu Osterwieck, in der Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte, XXVII, 683, Wernigerode, 1894.

[5]J. Chr. Hendel, Archiv für deutsche Schützengesellschaften, II, 10, Halle, 1801.

[6]Jakobs, 57. Cf. Delaunay, 75: "En belgique comme en France, dans les antiques confréries (der Schützen), tout prenait un caractère religieux: aussi chacune d'elles possédait une chapelle qui était entretenue à ses frais. Tous les ans, au jour du patron, elle y faisait célébrer une messe avec grande pompe; tous les membres de la confrérie étaient tenus de s'y présenter. On y faisait aussi un service funèbre pour les confrères décédés. De même l'ouverture des jeux ou exercises était toujours précédée d'une messe solennelle du Saint Esprit à laquelle tous les compagnons assistaient."

[7]Hendel, III, 176.

parish church of St. Nicholas, where their brotherhood was obliged to hear Mass, a special benefice whose incumbent was bound to read five Masses weekly.[8]

Two years later they received from the Papal Legate, Bartilmäus de Maraschis, who spent a day in Leipzig in the summer of 1484, a new indulgence which the Bishop of Merseburg confirmed.[9]

Some years earlier, on February 4, 1466, another Papal Legate in Breslau, Bishop Rudolf von Lavant, likewise granted an indulgence to the local brotherhood of marksmen. The Breslauer brothers told the papal nuncio how they came together on certain days and "practised themselves in the art of shooting the crossbow and gun," in order that they might the better protect the common good and defend the city against the heretics (Hussites) and other bad people. For the honor of God and out of devotion to the holy martyrs, Fabian and Sebastian, they yearly, on the feast of these Saints, "had Mass celebrated with organ and singing and trumpets, nobly and solemnly." If now the brotherhood were confirmed by "the papal power" and given an indulgence, then others of their fellow citizens would the more readily join, and the city could be the better defended.

The legate willingly granted their request. By the papal power he approved the brotherhood

[8] Urkundenbuch der Stadt Leipzig, II, 320f.
[9] Hendel, III, 177. Here the Legate is erroneously called Bartholomäus Mauritius.

and granted an indulgence of forty days to all the members, provided they had contritely confessed their sins, as well as to all the other faithful who would devoutly assist at the above Mass.[10]

In the year 1481 the same Rudolf, who in the meantime had become Bishop of Breslau, granted another indulgence to the marksmen's guild in Liebenthal. The brotherhood had pledged itself "always to use its military power for the defense of all Christians"; through zealous church-going and prayer the members "were to be strengthened to constant bravery."[11]

Archbishop Dietrich of Cologne in 1420 granted an indulgence of forty days to the marksmen's society of Neuss.[12] Archbishop Ruprecht of Cologne in 1473 granted in favor of the brotherhood of marksmen in Bonn a similar indulgence to all those who after contrite confession would attend High Mass and the procession on the feast of St. Sebastian, devoutly recite five Paters and Aves, and make a monetary contribution to the brotherhood for church purposes.[13]

[10]J. Chr. Kundmann, Silesii in nummis, oder berühmte Schlesier in Müntzen, 425f., Breslau, 1738. Kundmann (p. 424), whom others follow (for example, A. Edelmann, Schützenwesen und Schützenfeste der deutschen Städte vom 13 bis zum 18 Jahrbundert, 10, München, 1890), asserts that the indulgence was granted to those brothers who would attend the shooting and practice. There is nothing to be seen of this condition in the indulgence brief that Kundmann prints.

[11]G. Schoenaich, Zur Geschichte des schlesischen Schützenwesens, in der Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens, XL (1906), 200, 206.

[12]K. Tücking, Geschichte der kirchlichen Einrichtungen in der Stadt Neuss, 352, Neuss, 1886-90.

[13]Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, XXVIII (1876), 117.

In the year 1477 Bishop Alexander of Forli, who at that time was papal legate in Basel, gave a brief to the local brotherhood of marksmen, wherein he granted an indulgence of one hundred days to the members as also to others of both sexes who would attend the brotherhood's religious services on certain days. The legate remarked further that he gave this indulgence in order that the people might more zealously attend church.[14]

In the upper Alsatian town of Rufach, that formerly belonged to the diocese of Basel, a gun and crossbow brotherhood was formed in 1508. The bishop confirmed it with the grant of an indulgence: "Whatever brothers or *sisters* in this said brotherhood attend divine services, having truly repented and confessed and given their alms thereto, as often as they do this we make them share in an indulgence of forty days."[15]

Women, therefore, could join the marksmen's clubs. Not as if the "sisters," as the female members of the brotherhood were called, took part in the practice of shooting! What duties they undertook is shown by the charter of foundation in Rufach: "It is permissible for any married man himself and his honorable wife, who so desires, to join the brotherhood; but the wife is not bound to pay anything or to do anything, but only to

[14]P. Ochs, Geschichte der Stadt Basel, V, 91, Basel, 1821. That the legate, whom Ochs does not name, was Alexander of Forli, is evident from the Urkundenbuch der Stadt Basel, VIII, 414, Basel, 1901.

[15]Th. Walter, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Rufach, I, Rufach, 1900.

pray, as she wishes, and as here follows." Then is set forth how the brothers and sisters are bound to attend the Brotherhood's Masses.[16]

In other places the sisters had also to pay a yearly fee, as, for example, in Leipzig. "For St. Sebastian's day," says the old, above-cited marksmen's book, "the master general of the day must through the page notify all the brothers and sisters and pray them that they should individually appear at St. Nicholas early in the morning of the appointed day for the procession to the Mass and the collection, according to ancient custom." The page should also be given a list of "all the brothers and sisters who are in arrears so that he can diligently collect this amount."

Also in the ember weeks there were common divine services to which the "page" had to summon all the brothers and sisters. "On the first minor fast in the first ember week, the page should request all the wives to attend the Wednesday vigil, and they and the men also to attend the Mass and the collection early on Thursday." The same thing was to be done in the other three ember weeks.

After the vigil or the afternoon service for the dead members a "collation"—a fast day dish of almonds and peas, "together with Leipzig beer"—was served in the society's house to the sisters. The society's servants and their wives were charged with its prompt service. "At such a collation the servant, together with his wife, the

[16]Idem, 105.

helper, were bound to be present to run, to draw, to carry." For pay, "when the wives had all gone, he could take home with him a half quart of beer, if it remained, not more.[17]

[17]Hendel, III, 183ff.

4. MONTES PIETATIS

UNDER the name *montes pietatis* are to be understood publicly useful credit organizations, which in the second half of the fifteenth century were founded in large numbers, especially in upper and middle Italy, for the needs of the poor people, and which worked very successfully.[1] The chief promoters of these foundations were the Franciscan Observants who were supported by the papacy in their striving to help the needs of the people. Since the securing of working capital at first was a matter of the greatest difficulty, the popes sought to encourage generous contributions through the promise of indulgences.

Pius II made the beginning, when in 1463 he granted indulgences in favor of the new foundation in Orvieto.[2] Later indulgences were issued by Sixtus IV, for Savona in 1479;[3] by Innocent VIII for Mantua in 1486,[4] and for Verona in 1491;[5] by Alexander VI for Padua in 1493,[6] and for Genoa in 1491[7]; by Julius II for Bologna in 1507;[8] and by Leo X for the same city in 1514.[9]

[1]H. Holzapfel, Die Anfänge der Montes Pietatis, München, 1903.
[2]L. Fumi, Codice diplomatico della Città d'Orvieto, 723, Firenze, 1884 (Documenti di storia italiana, VIII).
[3]Statuti del sacro monte pietà di Roma, II, 11ff., Roma, 1776.
[4]B. de Bustis, Defensorium montis pietatis, f. 5, Hagenau, 1503.
[5]Wadding, Annales Minorum, XIV, 517, Romae, 1735.
[6]Bustis, f. 5.
[7]Wadding, XV, 545.
[8]Statuti, II, 22ff.
[9]Holzapfel, 99.

In the solemn confirmation which the Lateran Council in 1515 gave to the *montes pietatis,* which were hated on many sides, the pope referred expressly to the indulgences that the promoters of these very useful organizations might gain.[10]

From the foregoing discussion, it is sufficiently evident that various socially useful works, institutions, societies, enterprises, and organizations were furthered through indulgences. With full right, then, one may assert that civil society has to thank the often granted indulgences for innumerable benefits.

This social importance of indulgences was noted as early as the end of the fourteenth century by a distinguished German theologian, Heinrich von Langenstein. This scholar treated briefly of indulgences in his still unpublished commentary on Genesis delivered as a lecture in 1390 at the Vienna university. Therein he remarked that the custom of granting indulgences was helpful to the faithful in many ways. Because of the indulgences to be gained they attended sermons and divine services with more frequency, and for the erection of churches, hospitals and other similar works, which served for the honor of God and the common good, they gave alms more generously. From this it is evident that the granting of indulgences redounded to the good of both the church and of temporal society.[12]

[10]Wadding, XV, 471.

[11]Lectura super Genesin, handschriftlich auf der Münchener Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat., 18146.

[12]Et ita videtur quo concessio indulgenciarum est ad profectum et commodum utriusque reipublicae, scilicet spiritualis

The old theologian, however, does not fail to call special attention to the fact that indulgences are also of great importance for the salvation of souls: it would naturally incite sinners to repentance to hear that in so easy a way, by merely confessing their sins with contrition, they could obtain full forgiveness. "Thereby were many hardened sinners brought to confession who otherwise would not have been moved thereto. For this and similar reasons early teachers say that indulgences have value as introduced by the Holy Spirit."

et temporalis." Clm. 18146, fol. 411. With this expression of a medieval theologian, compare the following from a recent historian: "Il ne faut pas oublier les services rendus à la société tout entière par ces usages. . . . L'Églis n'a pas appliqué seulement les dons à ses besoins, mais à ceux de tous; travaillé pour elle-même, mais pour le pays; restauré ses monastères ou ses cathédrales, mais les Hôtels-Dieu, les léproseries, les hospices, tous les asiles de la pauvreté et de la douleur. C'est par l'indulgence encore qu'elle a pu contribuer au progrès économique: telle chaussé eou telle route, tel pont, comme à Lyon celui du Rhône, à Agen, celui de la Garonne, ont pu être reconstruits." P. Imbart de la Tour, Les origines de la Réforme, II, 265, Paris, 1909.

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